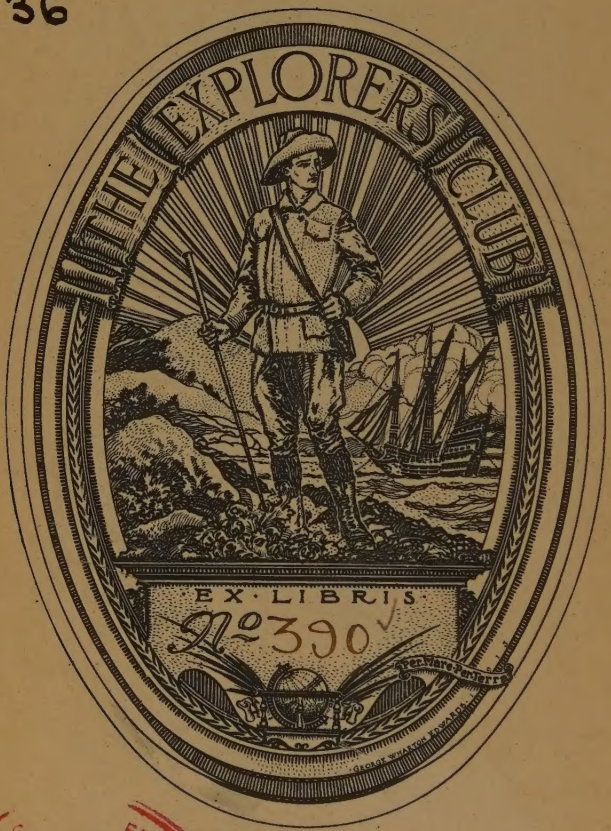
AUXILIO DIVINO

910.8
H136

v.5



DEACC
ED
THE EXPLORERS CLUB
DEACCESSIONED

PRESENTED BY
B. Ford

The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

In Twelve Volumes

Volume V

GLASGOW
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS BY
ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND COMPANY FOR
JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS, PUBLISHERS
TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

MACMILLAN AND CO. LTD.	LONDON
THE MACMILLAN CO.	NEW YORK
SIMPKIN, HAMILTON AND CO.	LONDON
MACMILLAN AND BOWES	CAMBRIDGE
DOUGLAS AND FOULIS	EDINBURGH

MCMIV

Photogravure by Annan & Sons, Glasgow.

SIR EDWARD OSBORNE.

The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation

Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 Yeeres

By

RICHARD HAKLUYT

Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford

VOLUME V

Glasgow

James MacLehose and Sons

Publishers to the University

New York: The Macmillan Company

MCMIV

390

THE TABLE

PAGE

A Catalogue of the Voyages of this fifth volume made to the South and South-east quarters; with the Ambassages, Treatises, Priviledges, Letters, and other observations, depending upon the Voyages of this fifth Volume:

A relation of the siege and taking of the citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke: Wherein honorable mention is made of divers valiant English knights, Anno 1522. 1

An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the Emperour Charles the fift, unto King Henry the eight, craving his ayde against Soliman the great Turke, An. 1527. 61

The antiquitie of the trade of English marchants unto the remote parts of the Levant seas, Anno 1511, 1512, &c. 62

A letter of Henry the eight, king of England, to John the third king of Portugale, for a Portugale ship fraighted at Chio, with the goods of John Gresham, William Lok, and others, and wrongfully unladen in Portugale, Anno 1531. 63

A voyage made with two ships called The holy Crosse, and The Matthew Gunson, to the Isles of Candia and Chio, about the yeere 1534. . . . 67

THE TABLE

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

Another voyage unto Candia and Chio made by the foresayd ship called The Matthewe Gunson, Anno 1535. . 68

The voyage of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read to Tunis in Barbarie 1538, recorded in his Epitaph. . . 69

The voyage of Sir Thomas Chaloner to Alger, with the Emperour Charles the fift, Anno 1541. 70

The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham, with the great barke Aucher, to Candia and Chio, Anno 1550. . . . 71

The voyage of M. John Lok to Jerusalem, Anno 1553. . 76

The maner of the entring of Soliman the great Turke, with his army, into Alepo in Syria, as hee was marching toward Persia, against the great Sophi, Anno 1553. . 105

A note of the presents that were given at the same time in Alepo, to the Grand Signor, and the names of the presenters. 108

The safe conduct granted by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, to M. Anthony Jenkinson at Alepo in Syria, Anno 1553. 109

A discourse of the trade to Chio written by Gaspar Campion, in the yeere 1569. 111

A letter of the sayd Gaspar Campion, to M. William Winter, in the yeare 1569. 115

A report of the siege and taking of Famagusta the strongest citie in al Cyprus, by Mustafa Bassa Generall of the great Turkes army, Anno 1571. 118

A briefe description of the Isle of Cyprus. . . . 124

The voyage of John Foxe, to the Streit of Gibraltar, in a ship called The three halfe-moones, Anno 1563. And his worthy enterprize in delivering 266 Christians from the captivitie of the Turkes at Alexandria, Anno 1577. 153

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

The renewing and great increasing of an ancient trade unto divers places in the Levant seas, and to the chiefest parts of all the great Turkes dominions, Anno 1575, 1578. 167

The letters of Zuldan Murad Can the great Turke, to the sacred Majestie of Queene Elizabeth, Anno 1579. . 169

The answere of her Majestie to the foresayd letters of the great Turke, sent by M. Richard Stanly, in the Prudence of London, Anno 1579. 171

The charter of priviledges granted to the English, and the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Majestie, for traffique onely, Anno 1580. 178

Her Majesties letter to the great Turke, promising redresse for the disorders of Peter Baker of Radcliffe, committed in the Levant, Anno 1581. 189

The letters Patents or Privileges granted by her Majestie to Sir Edward Osborne, M. Richard Staper, and certaine other marchants of London, for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, Anno 1581. 192

The voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey to the cities of Jerusalem, and Tripolis, in the yeere 1581. 202

The Pasport made by the great Master of Malta unto the English men in the Barke Rainolds, Anno 1582. . 215

The Queenes commission given to her servant M. William Hareborne, to bee Her Majesties Ambassador or Agent in the parts of Turkie, Anno 1582. 221

Her Majesties letter to the great Turke, written in commendation of M. William Hareborne, when he was sent Ambassador, Anno 1582. 224

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

A letter of the Queenes Majestie to Alli Bassa, the Turkes high Admiral, sent by her Ambassador M. William Hareborne, and delivered unto him aboord his Galley in the Arsenal. 228

A briefe remembrance of things to bee indevoured at Constantinople, and at other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and Dying, and touching the ample vent of our naturall commodities, &c. written by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, Anno 1582. . 229

Certaine other most profitable and wise instructions penned by the sayd M. Richard Hakluyt, for a principall English Factor at Constantinople. . . . 231

The voyage of The Susan of London to Constantinople, wherein M. William Hareborne was sent first Ambassadour unto Zuldan Murad Can the great Turke. Anno 1582. 243

A letter of Mustafa Chaus to the Queenes Majestie, Anno 1583. 258

A letter of M. William Hareborne, to M. Harvie Millers, appointing him Consul for the English nation, in Alexandria, Cairo, & other places of Egypt, in the yeare of our Lord 1583. 259

A commission given by M. William Hareborne the English Ambassador, to M. Richard Forster, authorizing him Consul of the English nation, in the partes of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Jerusalem, &c. together with a letter of directions to the sayd M. Forster, Ann. 1583. 260

A letter sent from Alger to M. William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassador at Constantinople, Anno 1583. 263

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

A letter of M. Hareborne to Mustafa, chalenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating three of the Grand Signors commandements. 265

A Pasport graunted to Thomas Shingleton by the king of Alger, in the yeare 1583. 266

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne in his Maioraltie, to the king of Alger, on the behalfe of certaine English captives, An. 1584. 268

Notes concerning the trades of Alger and Alexandria. . 270

A letter of M. William Hareborne the English Ambassadour, to M. Edward Barton, Anno 1584. . . 274

A commandement obtayned of the Grand Signor by her Majesties Ambassadour M. William Hareborne, for the quiet passing of her subjects to and from his dominions, sent to the Viceroyes of Alger, Tunis, and Tripolis in Barbary, An. 1584. 275

A letter of the hon. M. William Hareborne, her Majesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signor, to M. Tipton, appointing him Consul of the English, in Alger, Tunis, and Tripolis in Barbary, Anno 1585. . . . 276

A Catalogue or register of the English ships, goods, and persons wrongfully taken by the Galleys of Alger, with the names of the English captives, delivered to Hassan Bassa the Beglerbeg of Alger, &c. . . . 280

A letter of M. William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassador &c. to Assan Aga, Eunuch and treasurer unto Hassan Bassa king of Alger: which Assan Aga was sonne to Francis Rowly merchant of Bristol, and was taken in an English ship called the Swallow. . . 282

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

A petition exhibited to the Viceroy of the Turkish empire for reformation of sundry injuries offered our nation in Morea, as also for sundry demaundes needefull for the establishing of the trafficke in those parts. . . 283

A commandement of the Grand Signor to Patrasso in Morea, on the behalfe of the English. 285

The Grand Signors commandement to Chio on the behalfe of the English merchants. 286

Two of his commandements sent to Baliabadram and to Egypt, for the same purpose. 287

A commandement of the Grand Signor to the Cadi of Alexandria, for the restoring of an Englishmans goods wrongfully taken by the French Consul. . . 288

Another commaundement to the Bassa of Alexandria, for the very same purpose. 289

A commandement to the Byes and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all the Cadies & Byes in the way to Constantinople, for the courteous and just usage of the English merchants. 290

A commandement sent to Alepo concerning the goods of M. William Barret deceased. 290

The voyage of a ship called the Jesus, to Tripolis in Barbary, Anno 1583. 292

The Queenes letters to the great Turke for the restitution of an English ship called the Jesus, and of the English captives detained at Tripolis in Barbary, & for certaine other English men which remained prisoners at Alger, Anno 1584. 311

The great Turkes letters to the king of Tripolis in Barbary, commanding the restitution of an English ship called The Jesus, with the men and goods &c. Anno 1584. . 314

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

The letter of M. William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassadour to Bassa Romadan the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbary, for the restoring of the sayd ship called The Jesus, Anno 1585. 316

The voyage of M. Henry Austel by Venice to Ragusa, and thence over-land to Constantinople: and from thence through Moldavia, Polonia, Silesia, and Germany into England, Anno 1586. 320

The great Turkes Pasport of safeconduct, for Captaine Austel, and Jacomo Manuchio. 328

A Pasport of the Erle of Leicester, for Thomas Forster gent. traveiling to Constantinople, Anno 1586. . 329

A description of the yearely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumetans, Turkes and Moores to Mecca in Arabia. 329

The voyage of Master Cesar Frederick into the east India, and beyonde the Indies, Anno 1563. 365

A letter written from the Queenes Majestie to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, and sent by M. John Newbery, Anno 1583. 450

A letter written from her Majestie to the king of China, in the yeare of our Lord 1583. 451

A letter of M. John Newbery sent from Alepo to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford. Ann. 1583. . . 452

Another letter of the sayd M. Newbery written from Alepo to M. Leonard Poore at London, Anno 1583. . 453

A second letter of the sayd M. Newbery, written from Babylon to the aforesayd M. Poore, Anno 1583. . 455

M. Newbery his letter from Ormuz to M. John Eldred, and William Shales, at Balsara, Anno 1583. . . 457

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

His third letter written to M. Leonard Poore from Goa, in the yeare 1584. 458

A letter written from Goa by M. Ralph Fitch, to M. Leonard Poore abovesayd, Anno 1584. 463

The long, dangerous, and memorable voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London, by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormuz, to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, to the river of Ganges, to Bengala, to Bacola, to Chonderi, to Pegu, to Siam, &c. begunne in the yeere 1583, and ended in the yeere 1591. 465

The report of John Huighen van Linschoten of the imprisonment of M. Newbery and M. Fitch at Goa, and of their escape from thence, which happened while himselfe was in Goa. 505

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Sir Edward Osborne, ... *Frontispiece*

Sir Edward Osborne was born about 1530, and was apprenticed to Sir William Hewett, clothworker in London. According to tradition Osborne, while an apprentice, leapt into the Thames and saved the life of Hewett's infant daughter, who had fallen from her nurse's arms into the river at London Bridge. He afterwards married her in 1562, and on Sir William Hewett's death succeeded to his business and estates. Sir Edward Osborne became Lord Mayor in 1583, was knighted in 1584, and elected Member of Parliament for the City of London in 1586. He traded to the Mediterranean and the Levant, and in 1581 (with three other merchants) was granted letters patent by Queen Elizabeth to trade 'into the dominions of the great Turke.' On the incorporation of the Levant or Turkey Company, Sir Edward Osborne was appointed its first governor. He died in 1591. The portrait here reproduced is from the original at Hornby Castle, by permission of the Duke of Leeds.

Philip de Villiers de L'Isle Adam, ... 16

Philip de Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Hospitaller and Grand Prior of France, was elected Grand Master of Rhodes on 22nd January, 1521, when absent in France. He had, in 1510, come prominently

before the Order by his defeat of an Egyptian fleet in the Levant. On his election as Grand Master he hastily collected stores and munitions of war in France, and embarked at Marseilles for Rhodes, already threatened by the Turks. Off Nice fire broke out on his ship, and the crew were only prevented from deserting her by his exertions. Shortly afterwards in a storm the ship was struck by lightning, which, entering the stern cabin, killed nine men, and broke the Grand Master's sword by his side without damaging the scabbard. After the loss of Rhodes, Villiers returned to Europe, and in 1525 obtained the grant of Malta, Gozo, and Tripoli, from Charles V., for the Order. He died on 21st August, 1534. The portrait is reproduced from that in the British Museum copy of *The History of the Knights of Malta*, by *Monsieur L'Abbé de Vertot*, published in London in 1728.

Solyman the Magnificent, ... 48

Solyman the Magnificent, fourth Emperor of the Turks, succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Selim I. in 1520, being then about twenty-eight years old. During his reign the area of the Turkish Empire was extended by his conquests of the greater part of Hungary, large portions of Armenia and Persia, and the whole of Northern Africa, except Morocco. He besieged Vienna in 1529 but was repulsed. He died on the 4th September, 1566, while besieging Sigeth or Szigeth on the Drave. Richard Knolles, in his *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, describes him as 'of stature tall, of feature slender, long necked, his colour pale and wan, his nose long and hooked, of nature ambitious and bountifull, more faithfull of his word and promise than were for most part the Mahometan Kings his progenitors.' The portrait is taken from the rare

PAGE

manuscript *Kiyâfet-ul-Insâniyyeh* (personal descriptions of the Osmanli Sultans) in the Oriental Department of the British Museum. This manuscript was composed in A.H. 997 (A.D. 1589) by *Lukmân Shahnâméji* (royal poet annalist), and illustrated with portraits after contemporary originals.

A Turkish Carramuzzal, ... 136

The 'Carramuzzal' or 'Brigandine' was a favourite craft with the Turkish pirates who infested the Mediterranean in the 16th and 17th centuries. Hakluyt says they were vessels 'like unto ye French Gabards, sailing daily upon the river of Bordeaux, which sail with a misen or triangle saile.' In order that the extent and variety of armament may be clearly seen, the illustration shows the carramuzzal without mast or rigging. It is taken from the *Architectura Navalis* of *Joseph Furttenbach* printed at Ulm in 1629.

Plan of Alexandria, ... 160

From G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573, in the British Museum. The 'roade' or dock, 'made very fencible with strong wals,' in which the galleys wintered, and from which John Fox carried off the galley 'Captain of Alexandria,' is shown to the right of the main harbour.

Plan of Constantinople, ... 256

From G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573.

A Venetian Merchantman, ... 368

This and the two succeeding illustrations are taken from the *Architectura Navalis* of *Joseph Furttenbach*, Ulm, 1629. In the sectional plan the internal arrangements of a 'great ship' of the period are seen, and it is of interest to note that the fore and mizzen

PAGE

masts are stepped on the main deck, and not like the mainmast, on the keel. The measurements are given in 'palmi,' or spans of about nine and a-half inches each.

A Venetian Merchantman (section), . . . 376

A Venetian Merchantman (measurements), . . 384

Sailing Chart of the Mediterranean, . . . 512

Reproduced by permission of Prince Trivulzio from the original in his collection at Milan. The chart bears the inscription, 'Jacobus Russus Messanensis me fecit in nobili civitate Messane, Anno Domini 1564.' These charts were drawn on sheepskin or vellum, and many of them were beautifully illuminated.

THE FIFTH VOLUME

OF THE

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

Made to the South and South-east quarters of the World, with the directions, letters, privileges discourses, and observations incident to the same

A briefe relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motion of the Reverend Lord Thomas Dockwray, great Prior of the order of Jerusalem in England, in the yeere, 1524.

Illing faithfully to write and reduce in veritie Historiall, the great siege, cruel oppugnation, and piteous taking of the noble and renowmed citie of Rhodes, the key of Christendome, the hope of many poore Christian men, withholden in Turkie to save and keepe them in their faith: the rest and yeerely solace of noble pilgrimes of the holy sepulchre of Jesu Christ and other holy places: the refuge and refreshing of all Christian people: having course of marchandise in the parties of Levant, I promise to all estates that shall see this present booke, that I have left nothing for feare of any person, nor preferred it for favour. And first I shall shewe the occasions that mooved this cruell bloodshedder, enemie of our holy Christian faith, Sultan Soliman, now being great Turke, to come with a great hoste by sea and by lande, to besiege and assayle the space of sixe moneths, night and day, the noble and mightie citie of Rhodes, The yere of the incarnation of our Lord Jesu Christ, 1522.

[The occasions

The occasions why the great Turke came to besiege the Citie of Rhodes.

THe first and principall cause was that he did consider and sawe by experience, that there was none other Towne nor place in Levant that warred against him nor kept him in doubt, but this poore rocke of Rhodes. And hearing the continuall complaintes of his subjectes aswell of Syria, as of Turkie, for the domages and prises dayly done of their bodies and goods by Christian men of warre received into Rhodes: And also of the shippes and gallies of the religion, he tooke conclusion in himselfe, that if he might put the sayde Towne in his power and subjection, that then he should be peaceable lord of all the parties of Levant, and that his subjects should complaine no more to him.

The second, that he might followe the doings of his noble predecessours, and shewe himselfe very heire of the mightie and victorious lord Sultan Selim his father, willing to put in execution the enterprise by him left the yeere one thousand five hundred twentie and one. The which Selim the great Turke put in all redinesse his armie to the number of three hundreth sayles purposing for to send them against Rhodes, if mortalitie had not happened in his host, and he afterwarde by the will of our lorde was surprised and taken with death: wherefore he being in the latter ende of his dayes, (as some Turkes and false christian men that were at this siege shewed me) did charge by his testament, or caused to charge his sonne now being great Turke, that after his death hee should make his two first enterprises, the one against Bellegrado in Hungarie, and the other against Rhodes,
[II. i. 73.] for to get him honour, and to set his Countries and subjectes in rest and suretie. The which fatherly motion easilie entered into him and was imprinted in the heart and yoong will of the sayde Solyman, his sonne, the which soone after the death of his father put in effect the first enterprise, and raised an huge hoste both by

A.D. 1522.

water and by land, and went himselfe in person against Bellegrado, a right strong place in Hungarie. And after that hee had besieged it the space of two moneths or thereabout, for fault of ordinance and vitailes, it was yeelded to him by composition the eight day of September, in the yeere of our lord, one thousand five hundred twentie and one. The sayd Solyman having this victory, being swollen and raised in pride and vaineglory, turned his heart agaynst Rhodes. Neverthelesse, he not ignorant of the strength of it, and considering the qualities of the people that were within it, of whom he should be well received as his predecessours had bene aforetimes, doubted much, and knew not how to furnish his enterprise. For his capitaines and Bashas turned him from it as much as they might by many reasons, they knowing the force of it, save onely Mustofa Basha his brother in lawe, the which counselled and put him in minde to goe thither. Finally, hee purposed entirely to have it by treason or by force. And also for the same cause and purpose, his father in his dayes had sent a Jewe physician into Rhodes as a spie, to have the better knowledge of it: the sayd Solyman was informed that he was there yet, wherfore he sent him worde that he should abide there still for the same cause. And gave in charge to one of the chiefe men in Sio, to send unto the sayd Jewe all things needefull to maintaine him. And the same Jewe wrote to him of Sio, under privie wordes, all that was done in Rhodes to give knowledge thereof to the great Turke: and the better to hide his treason, the sayde Jewe made himselfe to bee baptised. And to bee the more named to be expert in Physike, he did some faire cures to such as were diseased, whereby he began to bee well trusted, and came in favour with many substantiall folkes of the towne. Among all other things whereof hee advertised the great Turke, one was of a wall that was taken downe for to be new builded at the bulwarke of Auvergne, certifying him that if hee came hastely with his hoste, hee might easilie and at

The taking of Belgrade.

Forren physicians become spies oftentimes.

unawares surprise the towne in such estate as it was at that time. Many other advertisements and warnings hee shewed the Turke, which shall bee declared hereafter. But beside his advertisement, the sayd great Turke stirred and provoked by a false traitour, a Portingale knight of ours, that time Chanceller of the sayd holy Religion, a man of great authoritie, dignitie, and understanding, and one of the principall lordes of the counsell of the same, named Sir Andrew de Merall, by little and little was mooved and kindled to the sayd enterprise of treason, whereof was no marvell, for it was a great hope and comfort to have such a person for him, that knew all the estate and rule of the religion and of the towne. And for to declare the occasions of the cursed and unhappy will of the said traitor that had bene occasion of so great losse and damage, and shall be more at the length, if the divine power set not to his hand.

A Portingale traitor.

And here it is manifestly to bee understood of all men, that after the death of the noble and right prudent lord, Fabrice of Cacetto, great master of Rhodes, the sayd Sir Andrew enflamed with ambition and covetousnesse to bee great master, and seeing himselfe deceived of his hope, by the election made the two and twentieth day of January, of the right reverend and illustrate lord, Philip de Villiers Lisleadam, before him: from that time hee tooke so great envie and desperation, enmitie and evill will, not onely against the sayde lord, but against all the holy religion, that hee set all his studie and purpose, to betray and sell his religion and the citie of Rhodes to the cursed misbeleevers, forgetting the great honours and goodnesse that hee hath had of the religion, and hoped to receive, with many other particuler pleasures that the sayd lord master had done to him. But the devill, unkindnesse, and wickednesse had so blinded the eyes of his thought, that hee in no wise could refraine him, but at every purpose that was spoken afore him, hee was short and might not dissemble. And one day among other hee sayde before many knights, that hee would that his

Philip de Villiers great master.

soule were at the devill, and that Rhodes and the religion were lost. And many other foolish and dishonest purposes and wordes hee uttered, whereat none tooke heed, nor thought that hee had the courage to doe that thing that hee hath done. Howbeit, obstinate as Judas, hee put in execution his cursed will: for soone after that the tidings of the election was sent Westward to the sayde noble lord, the sayd de Merall did send a Turke prisoner of his to Constantinople, under shadowe to fetch his ransome. By whom hee advertised the great Turke and his counsell, of the maner and degree of Rhodes, and in what state and condicion the towne was in of all maner of things at that time, and what might happen of it, provoking and stirring him to come with a great hoste to besiege the towne. And after the comming of the sayd reverend lord great master, he gave other advise to the great Turke, shewing him that hee could never have better time to come, seeing that the great master was [II. i. 74.] new come, and part of the wall taken downe, and that all Rhodes was in trouble by occasion of some Italian knights, rebels agaynst the lord great master: of the which rebellion he was causer, the better to bring his cursed mind to passe: and also gave the sayde great Turke knowledge that all Christian princes were busie, warring each upon other, and that he should not doubt but if the rebellion lasted among them, the towne should be his without faile, as it is seene by experience. And for lacke of succours of every part, and especially of such as might easily have holpen us beyng our neighbours, with their gallies and men of warre, wherefore it is now in the handes of the enemies of the christian faith. The which monitions and reasons of the false traitor being understood and pondered by the great Turke and his counsell, it was considered of them not to loose so good occasion and time. Wherefore hee made most extreme diligence to rigge and apparell many ships & vessels of divers sorts, as galliasses, gallies, pallandres, fustes, and brigantines, to the number of 350. sailes and moe.

When the prisoner that the sayd de Merall did send into Turkie had done his commission, hee returned into Rhodes, whereof every man had marvell. And many folkes deemed evil of his comming againe, as of a thing unaccustomed, but none durst say any thing, seeing the sayd de Merall of so great authoritie and dignitie, and he cherished the sayd prisoner more then he was woont to doe. Therefore belike hee had well done his message, and had brought good tidings to the damnable and shamefull mind of the sayd traitor de Merall.

How the great Turke caused the passages to be kept, that none should beare tidings of his hoste to Rhodes.

THe great Turke intending with great diligence to make readie his hoste both by sea and by land, the better to come to his purpose, and to take the towne unwarily as hee was advertised, thought to keepe his doings as secret as hee might, and commaunded that none of his subjects should goe to Rhodes for any maner of thing. And likewise he tooke all the barkes and brigantines out of the havens and portes in those coastes, because they should give no knowledge of his armie. And also hee made the passages by land to bee kept, that none should passe. Howbeit, so great apparell of an armie could not bee long kept close: for the spies which the lord great master had sent into Turkie, brought tidings to the castle of saint Peter, and to Rhodes, of all that was sayd and done in Turkie. Neverthelesse, the sayd lord gave no great credence to all that was brought and told, because that many yeeres before, the predecessours of the great Turke had made great armies: and alway it was sayd that they went to Rhodes, the which came to none effect. And it was holden for a mocke and a by-word in many places, that the Turke would goe to besiege Rhodes. And for this reason doubt was had of this last armie, and some thought that it should have gone into Cyprus or to Cataro, a land of the lordship of

Venice. Howbeit the great master not willing to bee taken unwarily, but the meane while as carefull and diligent for the wealth of his towne, & his people, understanding these tidings of the Turkes armie, did all his diligence to repaire and strengthen the towne. Amongst all other things to build up, and raise the bulwarke of Auvergne, and to cleanse and make deeper the ditches. And the more to cause the workemen to haste them in their businesse, the sayd lord oversawe them twise or thrise every day.

How the lord great master counselled with the lordes for provision for the towne.

THen the sayd reverend lord thought to furnish and store the towne with more vitailes for the sustenance thereof, and for the same many times hee spake with the lordes that had the handling and rule of the treasurie, and of the expenses thereof in his absence, and since his comming: That is to wit, with the great Commander Gabriel de pommerolles, lieutenant of the sayd lord: The Turcoplier Sir John Bourgh of the English nation: and the Chanceller Sir Andrew de Meral, of whom is spoken afore, and of his untruth agaynst his religion. The which three lordes sayd, that hee should take no thought for it, for the towne was well stored with vitailes for a great while, and that there was wheate ynough till new came in: Notwithstanding it were good to have more, or the siege were laied afore the towne, and therefore it were behoovefull to send for wheate and other necessaries into the West for succours of the towne, and at that time to purvey for every thing.

Sir Joh. Bourgh the English Turcoplier.

Of the provision for vitailes and ordinance of warre. [II. ii. 75.]

AS touching the store and ordinance of warre, the sayd lordes affirmed that there was ynough for a yeere and more, whereof the contrary was found, for it failed a moneth or the citie was yeelded. It is of trueth that

there was great store, and to have lasted longer then it did. But it was needfull to spend largely at the first comming of the enemies to keepe them from comming neere, and from bringing earth to the ditches sides as they did. And moreover you are to consider the great number of them, and their power that was spred round about the towne, giving us so many assaults and skirmishes in so many places as they did, and by the space of sixe whole moneths day and night assailing us, that much ordinance and store was wasted to withstand them in all points. And if it failed, it was no marvell. Howbeit the noble lord great master provided speedily for it, and sent Brigantines to Lango, to the castle of saint Peter, and to the castels of his isle Feraclous and Lyndo, for to bring powder and saltpeter to strength the towne, but it suffised not.

And for to speake of the purveiance of vitailes, it was advised by the lord great master and his three lords, that it was time to send some ships for wheat to places thereabout, before the Turks hoste were come thither. And for this purpose was appointed a ship named the Gallienge, whose captaine hight Brambois, otherwise called Wolfe, of the Almaine nation, an expert man of the sea, the which made so good diligence, that within a moneth he performed his voiage, and brought good store of wheat from Naples and Romania, which did us great comfort.

How a Brigantine was sent to Candie for wine, and of divers ships that came to helpe the towne.

AFter this, a motion was made to make provision of wine for the towne, for the men of Candie durst not saile for to bring wine to Rhodes as they were woont to doe for feare of the Turkes hoste: and also they of the towne would send no ship into Candie, fearing to be taken and enclosed with the sayd hoste by the way. Howbeit some merchants of the towne, were willing

to have adventured themselves in a good ship of the religion, named the Mary, for to have laden her with wine in Candie. But they could not agree with the three lordes of the treasure, and their let was but for a little thing: and all the cause came of the sayd traitour de Merall, faining the wealth of the treasure; for he intended another thing, and brake this good and profitable enterprise and will of the sayd merchants, seeing that it was hurtfull to the Turke, whose part the said traitour held in his divelish heart: that notwithstanding, the reverend lord great master, that in all things from the beginning to the ende, hath alway shewed his good will, and with all diligence and right that might bee requisite to a soveraigne captaine and head of warre, found other expedience, and sent a Brigantine into Candie, in the which he sent a brother sergeant named Anthonie of Bosus, a well sprighted man and wise, that by his wisedome wrought so well, that within a small time he brought fifteene vessels called Gripes, laden with wine, and with them men of warre the which came under shadow of those wines, because the governours of Candie durst let none of their men goe to the succour of Rhodes for feare of the Turke. And beside those fifteene Gripes came a good ship whose capitaine and owner was a rich yong gentleman Venetian, Messire John Antonio de Bonaldi, which of his good will came with his ship laden with 700. buts of wine to succour the towne with his person and folkes, whose good and lowable will I leave to the consideration of the readers of this present booke. For hee being purposed to have had his wines to Constantinople, or he was enformed of the busines of Rhodes, and was in the porte du Castell in Candie, would not beare his vitailes to the enemies of the faith, but came out and returned his way toward Rhodes, forgetting all particular profite and advantage. He being arrived at Rhodes, dispatched and sold his wine, which was a great encrease and comfort for the towne. And when he had so done, he presented his person, his ship, and

his folke, to the reverend great master, the which retained him, and set him in wages of the Religion. And during the siege, the sayd capitaine behaved him woorthily in his person, and put himselfe in such places as woorthy men ought to be, spending his goods largely without demanding any paiment or recompense for his doing, of the Religion.

How the corne was shorne downe halfe ripe and brought into the towne for feare of the Turkes hoste.

DUring these things, the reverend lord great master carefull and busie to have every thing necessary, as men and other strengths, sent vessels called brigantines, for to cause the wafters of the sea to come into Rhodes for the keeping and fortifying of the towne, the [II. i. 76.] which at the first sending came and presented their persons and ships to the service of the religion.

Harvest in April and May.

After that the sayd lord caused to shere downe the Rie of his isle, and caused it to bee brought into the towne, which was done in Aprill: and then in May in some places, he made to shere the wheate halfe ripe, howbeit the most part was left in the fields, because the Turkes hoste was come out of the streights of Constantinople. And doubting that any number of ships should come before to take the people of the sayd Isle unawares, the sayd lord made them to leave shering of wheate, and caused the people of the furthest part of the Isle to come into the towne.

While that the great master provided for all things after the course of time and tidings that hee had, there arrived a Carak of Genoa laden with spicerie from Alexandria, the which passed before the port of Rhodes the eight day of Aprill, and rid at anker at the Fosse, 7. or 8. miles from the towne, for to know and heare tidings of the Turkish hoste. Then the lord willing to furnish him with people as most behoovefull for the towne, sent a knight of Provence named sir Anastase

de sancta Camilla, commander de la Tronquiere to the captaine of the Carak, praying him to come into the haven with his ship for the defence of the towne, profering him what he would, assuring him his ship. The captaine excused him, saying, that the merchandise was not his owne, but belonged to divers merchants to whom he must yeeld account. Howbeit at the last after many words and promises to him made, hee came into the haven, the which captaine was named messire Domingo de Fournati, and hee in his person behaved him valiauntly in the time of the sayd siege.

How the great master caused generall musters to be made, and sent a vessell to the Turkes navie, of whom he received a letter.

AFter the moneth of April the lord master seeing that the Turkes hoste drew neere, and that he had the most part of the wafters within the towne, he caused generall musters of men of armes to be made. And began at the knights, the which upon holy Rood day in May made their musters before the Commissioners ordained by the sayd lord in places deputed to each of them called Aulberge. The which Commissioners made report to the lordes that they had found the knights in good order of harnesse & other things necessary for warre, & their araie faire & proper, with crosses on them. When the muster of the knights was done, the lord master thought to make the musters of them of the towne, and strangers together: but his wisedome perceived that harme should come thereby, rather then good, doubting that the number of people should not bee so great as he would, or needed to have, whereof the great Turke might have knowledge by goers and commers into Rhodes, and therefore he caused them of the towne to make their musters severall by bandes and companies, and the strangers also by themselves, to the end that the number should not bee knowen, notwithstanding that there was good quantitie of good men and well willing

to defend themselves. And the more to hearten and give them courage and good will, some knights of the Crosse, decked their men with colours and devises, and tooke with them men of the towne and strangers, and with great noyse of trumpets and timbrels, they made many musters, as envying each other which should keepe best aray and order, and have the fairest company. It was a great pleasure to see them all so well agree, and so well willing.

The number of the men of the towne amounted and were esteemed, three or foure thousand, beside men of the villages, that might be 1500. or 2000.

The eight day of the same moneth, the Turkes hearing of those tidings, made a fire for a token in a place called le Fisco, in the maine land right against Rhodes. And certaine dayes afore they had made another, that is to weet, when the ship of a knight named Menetow went thither, and had with him the clarke of the gallies named Jaques truchman, the which under shadow to speake with him, was withholden of the Turkes. For the great Turke had commanded to take him or some other man of the Rhodes to have perfect knowledge in what estate the towne was then in every thing. And they of the towne weening that the second fire was for to deliver Jaques, the reverend lord great master sent one of his galliasses, whose patron was called messire Boniface of Provence, to know the cause thereof. And when hee arrived at the sayd place of le Fisco, he demaunded of the Turkes wherefore they had made the token of fire. And they said that it was because their lord had sent a letter to the great master, but as yet it was not come, and desired him to tary till it were brought. The patron as warie & wise in the businesse of the sea, thought in himselfe that the Turkes made such prolonging to some evill intent, or to surprise his vessell being alone, wherefore hee bade them give him the letter speedily, or els he would goe his way, and neither tary for letter nor other thing: and told them of the evill and dishonest

deed that they had done the dayes afore, to withhold the clarke under their words and safeconduct: and therewith he turned his galliasse to have gone away. The Turkes seeing that, gave him the letter, the which he tooke, and when he was arrived at Rhodes, he presented it to the lord great master, which assembled the lordes of his counsell, and made it to be red: The tenor whereof was such as foloweth. [II. i. 77.]

The copie of the letter that the great Turke sent to the lord great master, and to the people of the Rhodes.

SUltan Solyman Basha by the grace of God, right mightie emperor of Constantinople, and of himselfe holding both the lands of Persia, Arabia, Syria, Mecha, and Jerusalem; of Asia, Europe, Ægypt, and of all the Sea, lord and possessor: To the reverend father lord Philip, great master of Rhodes, to his counsailors, and to all the other citizens great and small, greeting. Sending convenient and worthy salutations to your reverences, wee give you to weet, that we have received your letters sent unto our imperiall majestie by George your servant, the tenor whereof we doe well understand; and for this occasion we send unto you this our present commaundement, to the end that we will that ye know surely how by our sentence we will have that Isle of Rhodes for many damages and evill deeds which we have, and heare from day to day of the sayd place done to us and our subjects, and ye with your good will shall hold it of us & doe us obeisance, and give the citie to mine imperiall majestie. And we sweare by God that made heaven and earth, and by 26000. of our prophets, and by the 4. Misafi that fell from the skies, and by our first prophet Mahomet, that if ye doe us homage, and yeeld you with good will upon these othes, all you that will abide in the sayd place, great and small, shall not need to feare perill nor damage of mine imperiall majestie, neither you, your goods, nor your men: and who so will goe to any other

place with his goods and houshold, may so doe, and who so will dwell and inhabite in any other places under mine Imperiall majestie, may remaine where they like best, without feare of any person. And if there bee any of the principals and woorthy men among you that is so disposed, wee shall give him wages and provision greater then hee hath had. And if any of you will abide in the sayd isle, yee may so doe after your auncient usages and customes, and much better. And therefore if that yee will accept these our othes and intreatings, send unto us a man with your letters to mine Imperiall majestie, or els know yee that wee will come upon you with all provisions of warre, and thereof shall come as it pleaseth God. And this wee doe, to the end that ye may know, and that ye may not say, but we have given you warning. And if ye doe not thus with your good will, wee shall vault and undermine your foundations in such maner, that they shalbe torne upside downe, and shall make you slaves, and cause you to die, by the grace of God, as we have done many, and hereof have ye no doubt. Written in our court at Constantinople the first day of the moneth of June.

How the Turkes came to land in the Isle of Lango, and were driven to their ships againe by the Prior of S. Giles.

WHen the lord great master and his counsell had heard the tenor of the letter, they would give none answere to the great Turke, but that he should be received with good strokes of artillerie. So that to a foolish demaund behooved none answere. And it was very like that he would have nothing. For sixe dayes after, that was the 14. day of the said moneth of June, the Brigantines that went toward Sio to know of the said armie, came againe and sayd, that of a trueth the said armie was comming, and that nigh to Lango an Isle of the religion, an 100. mile from Rhodes, they had seene and told 30. sailes that were most part gallies and

fustes : the which vessels set men on land in ye isle of Lango. Then the prior of S. Giles, Messire pre John de Bidoux commander of the sayd place, taried not long from horsebacke with his knights and people of the isle, and he met so well with the Turkes, that he drove them to their ships, and slew a certaine number of them : and of the side of Pre John some were hurt, and his horse was slaine. When the enemies were entered into their gallies, they went to a place called castle Judeo on the maine land, betweene the sayd isle of Lango and the castle of S. Peter.

How part of the navie and armie of the great Turke came before the citie of Rhodes.

THe 18. day of the said moneth of June, these 30. gallies went from the sayd place, and passed by the Cape of Crion, entering the gulfe of Epimes beside Rhodes, and were discovered from the shade of the hill of Salaco, a castle in the isle of Rhodes. On the morow they came out of the gulfe by plaine day, and sailing along by the coasts, they entered into a haven on maine land called Malfata, where they abode three dayes. Then [II. i. 78.] they went from thence, and returned to the gulfe of Epimes, where they abode two dayes and two nights.

The 24 day of the same moneth they issued out of Epimes, and traversing the chanell, they came to the yle of Rhodes in a place before a castle called Faves, and they went to land, and burnt a great field of corne the same day, which was the feast of S. John Baptist our patron. The guard of a castle named Absito in the yle of Rhodes discovered and spied the great hoste, and in great haste brought word to the lord master, and sayd that the sayd hoste, that was in so great number of sailes that they might not be numbred, was entred into the gulfe of Epimes. The 30 sailes that lay in the yle arose in the night, and went to the sayd hoste in the gulfe.

The 26 day of June the sayd great hoste arose and went out of Epimes an houre after the sun rising, &

traversing the chanell, they came to a place called the Fosse, eight miles from the towne. And the 30 first sailes turned backe toward the cape of S. Martin and other places to watch for ships of Christian men, if any passed by to Rhodes. The great hoste abode still till noone or one of the clocke, and then arose, not all, but about 80 or 100 ships, as gallies, galliasses, and fusts: and passed one after another before the towne and haven of Rhodes three miles off, and came to shore in a place nigh to land, called Perambolin, sixe miles from the towne. In the which place the sayd hoste abode from that time to the end of that unhappy siege.

The number and names of the vessels that came to besiege Rhodes.

THe number of the ships were these: 30 galliasses, 103 gallies, aswell bastards as subtill mahonnets, 15 taffours, 20 fusts, 64 great ships, sixe or seven gallions, & 30 galleres, beside the navy that waited for Christian men, if any came to succour us. These were the vessels that came at the first to lay the siege. And sith that the sayd host came out of Perambolin, there came from Syria 20 other sailes, aswell gallies as fusts. And many other ships came sith, and joyned with the sayd army in the time of the sayd siege. And it was sayd that there were 400 sailes and moe.

The same day that part of the host came to the sayd place, the reverend lord great master ordeined a great brigandine to send into the West, to certifie our holy father the pope, and the Christian princes how the Turks army was afore Rhodes. And in the sayd vessell he sent two knights, one a French man named Sir Claude dansoyville called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia a Spaniard: and they went to the pope and to the emperour.

After the comming of the Turks navy into the sayd place, it was 14 or 15 dayes or they set any ordinance on land, great or small, or any quantity of men came

PHILIPPE VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM QUARANTE TROISIEME GR. MAITRE AN. 1521
FRERE

on shore, whereof we marveiled. And it was tolde us by some that came out of the campe, and also by the spies that the lord great master had sent abroad arayed as Turks, that they abode the commandement of their great lord, untill the hoste by land were come into the campe. Howbeit there came some number for to view the towne, but they went privily, for the ordinance of the towne shot without cease.

All this while the gallies and galliasses went and came to land, bringing vitaile and people. At the which ships passing nigh the town, were shot many strokes with bombards, which made some slaughter of our enemies: and when the most part of them was past, they began to set ordinance on the land with great diligence. Then the lord great master departed from his palace, and lodged him nigh a church called The victory, because that place was most to be doubted: and also that at the other siege the great businesse and assault was there.

How the lord great master made his petition before the image of S. John, and offered him the keyes of the towne.

THe day before were made many predications and sermons, and the last was in the church of S. John Baptist. When the sermon was done, a pontificall Masse was celebrate with all solemnities, and all the reliques taken downe, and the lord great master and all his knights with great devotions and reverence heard it. And when the Masse was ended, the lord great master made a pitious oration or prayer before Saint John Baptist his protectour: and above all other words, which were too long to tell, he besought him meekly that it would please him to take the keyes of that miserable city. The which keyes he presented and layed upon the altar before the image, beseeching S. John to take the keeping and protection thereof, and of all the religion, as by his grace he had given to him unworthy, the governing unto that day: and by his holy grace to defend them

from the great power of the enemies that had besieged them.

[II. i. 79.]

How the women slaves would have set fire in the towne.

THe eight day of July it was knowen that the Turkish women being slaves and servaunts in many houses of the towne, had appointed to set fire in their masters houses at the first assault that should be made, to the end that the men should leave their posterns & defenses to go and save their houses and goods. And it was found that a woman of Marchopota being a slave, was first moover thereof, the which was taken and put to execution.

The same day some of our men went out for to skirmish with the Turkes, and many of them were slaine with shot of our artillerie, and of our men but one.

How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunshot.

THe 18. day of July, for the beginning and first day they set up a mantellet, under the which they put three or foure meane pieces, as sacres, wherewith they shot against the posterns of England and Provence. But the mantellet was soone broken and cast downe, and their pieces destroyed with the shot of the wall, and they that shot them were most part slaine. As this first mantellet was broken, by the great and innumerable people that they had they set all their ordinance on land, and caried it to the places where it should be bent, or nigh thereby.

And the 29. day of the same moneth, they set up two other mantellets. One beside a church of saine Cosme and Damian, and another toward the West. And from these mantellets they shot great pieces, as Culverings, double gunnes, and great bombards agaynst the wals of England and Spaine, to the which mantellets the ordinance of the towne gave many great strokes, and

often brake them. And the more to grieve the towne and to feare us, they set up many other mantellets in divers places, almost round about the towne, and they were reckoned foure score: the which number was well lessened by the great quantitie of strokes of artillerie shot out of the towne from many places.

The artillerie of the Turkes was such as followeth.

FIrst there were sixe great gunnes, cannons perriers of brasse, that shot a stone of three foote and a halfe: also there were 15. pieces of iron that shot stones of five or sixe spannes about. Also there were 14. great bombards that shot stones of eleven spans about. Also there were twelve basiliskes, whereof they shot but with 8. that is to weet, foure shot agaynst the posterns of England and Spaine, and two against the gate of Italy: the other two shot sometime against Saint Nicholas tower. Also there were 15. double gunnes casting bullets as basiliskes. The meane shot, as sacres and pasvolans, were in great number. The handgunshot was innumerable and incredible. Also there were twelve potgunnes of brasse that shot upward, whereof eight were set behind the church of S. Cosme and Damian, and two at saint John de la Fontaine toward the port of Italy, and the other two afore the gate of Auvergne, the which were shot night and day: and there were three sorts of them, whereof the greatest were of sixe or seven spannes about. And the sayd stones were cast into the towne to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhumane and fearefull, which maner of shooting is little used amongst christian men. Howbeit by evident myracle, thanked be God, the sayd pieces did no great harme, and slew not past 24. or 25. persons, and the most part women and children, and they began to shoot with the said pieces from the 19. day of the same moneth, unto the end of August, & it was accounted that they shot 2000. times, more or lesse.

Then the enemies were warned by the Jewe that wrote letters to them of all that was done and sayd in the towne, that the sayd potgunnes did no harme: wherefore they were angry, for they thought that they had slaine the third part of our people: and they were counselled by him to leave that shooting, for it was but time lost, and pouder wasted, and then they shot no more with them. It is of a trueth that they shot with the sayd potgunnes 12. or 15. times with bullets of brasse or copper, full of wild fire, and when they were in the ayre, they flamed foorth, and in falling on the ground, they brake, and the fire came out and did some harme. But at the last wee knew the malice thereof, and the people was warie from comming neere to them, and therefore they did hurt no more folke.

How the captaine Gabriel Martiningo came to the succor of Rhodes, and all the slaves were in danger to be slaine.

THe 24. day of the same moneth a brigantine arrived that was sent afore into Candie, wherein came a worthy captaine named Gabriel Martiningo with two [II. i. 80.] other captains. And there went to receive him messieur prou John prior of S. Giles, and the prior of Navarre. Then after his honourable receiving as to him well appertained, they brought him before the lord great master, that lovingly received him, and he was gladly seene and welcommed of the people, as a man that was named very wise and ingenious in feats of warre. Then came a Spaniard renegado from the host, that gave us warning of all that was done in the field, and of the approching by the trenches that our enemies made.

And in likewise there arose a great noise in the towne, that the slaves Turks that wrought for us in the diches had slaine their keepers, and would have fled, which was not so. Neverthelesse, the rumour was great, and they rang alarme: wherefore the sayd slaves comming to prison, as it was ordeined in al the alarmes, were met of

the people, which in great anger put them to death: so that there were slain an hundred & moe the same day. And if the lord great master had not commanded that none should hurt them, they had bene all slaine, and there were fifteene hundreth of them: which slaves did great service in time of the siege: for they laboured dayly to make our defences, and to cast earth out of the ditches, and in all works they were necessary at our needs.

How the great Turke arrived in person before Rhodes.

THe 25 day of the sayd moneth many of our men went out for to skirmish in the field and made great murder of Turks, and in likewise did our artillery. And it is to be noted that the 28 day of the same moneth the great Turke in person passed le Fisco a haven in the maine land with a galley and a fust, and arrived about noone, where his army lay, the which day may be called unhappie for Rhodes. For his comming, his presence and continuall abiding in the fielde is and hath beene cause of the victorie that he hath had. When the gallie that he came in was arrived, all the other shippes of the hoste hanged banners aloft in their toppes and on their sayle yerdes.

Soone after that the Turke was arrived, he went to land, and mounted on his horse, and rode to his pavilion which was in a high place called Megalandra, foure or five miles fro the towne out of the danger of the gunne shot. And on the morow, as it was reported to us, hee came to a Church nigh the towne called Saint Steven, for to viewe the Towne and fortresses, whereas they had set up mantellets for to lay their ordinance.

THe last day of July, one of our brigandines went out with a good company of men arayed as Turkes, and some of them could speake Turkish, and went by night to lande through the Turkes hoste, and demaunded

if there were any that would passe over into Turkie, that they should haste them to come. The Turkes weening that they had beene of Turkie, there entred a 12. persons, the which were carried to Rhodes, by whom we knew what they did in the campe.

The first day of August the Captaine Gabriel Martiningo was made knight of the order of the religion by the lord great Master, and was made the first auncient of the Italian nation, of the first baliage or priorie that should be vacant. And in the meane season the religion should give him twelve hundred ducates for pension every yeere, and the same day he was received to the Councell in the roome of a baylife.

The fift day of the sayd moneth our master gunner was slaine with a gunne, which was great losse for us at that time.

The 15. day of the sayd moneth was knowen and taken for a traitor, Messire John Baptista, the physicion aforesayd, which confessed his evill and divelish doings, and had his head striken of.

Of the marveilous mounts that the Turks made afore the towne, and how the capitaines were ordered in the trenches.

AFter the comming of the great Turke, the enemies began to shoote with ordinance of another sort then they did before, and specially with harquebushes and handguns, and also to make their trenches and approches. And also they did more diligence then afore, to bring ye earth nigh the towne with spades and pickaxes. And it is to weet, that they mooved the earth from halfe a mile off, and there were shot out of the towne innumerable strokes with ordinance against the sayd earth, and innumerable quantitie of people hid behind the sayd earth, were slaine. Neverthelesse they never left working till they had brought it to the brimmes of the ditches: and when it was there, they raised it higher and higher in strengthning it behind. And in conclusion the sayd earth was higher

then the wals of the towne by 10. or 12. foote, and it seemed a hill. And it was agaynst the gate of Auvergne and Spaine, and beat our men that were at the gates & bulwarks, in such wise, that none durst be seene till certaine defences and repaires were made of plankes and boards to cover our people and keepe them from the shot. And at the gate of Italy was made such another heape, and in none other part.

When the trenches were thus made to the ditches, the enemies made holes in the wals of the ditch outward : [II. i. 81.] wherethorow they shot infinitely with handgunnes at our men aswell on the walles as on the bulwarks, and slew many of them. Then the bashas and captaines entred into the trenches, ech to his place after their order and dignity : that is to wit, Mustafa Basha as chiefe captaine entred the trench direct to the bulwarke of England with his people & captaines under him. Pery Bassha went to the trenches against the gate of Italy with his folkes and captaines under him. Acmek Bassha was in the trenches of Auvergne and Spaine with the Aga of the Janizaires and the Beglarby of Romany with him. The Beglarby of Natolia was in the trenches of Provence. Allibey was with his company against the gardins of saint Anthony on the North side, and divers other captaines with him, and set his ordinance against the wall of the gate of Almaine, which was but weake, and set up seven mantellets by the milles toward the West : and by the space of eight or nine dayes they beat upon the same wall ; which put us in great feare, if they had continued. Howbeit the noble lord great master forthwith caused repaires to be made within, and planks & tables to be set to fortifie the sayd weake wall : and abode there from the morning til night, to cause it to be the more hasted. The artillery of the gate of Almaine, and the Massif of the gate of the campe and of the palais beat so sore and so often upon the sayd mantellets that it wearied the enemies to make and repaire them so often : and they tooke up the pieces, and bare them away. And also they could not well beat the sayd

wall because the brimmes of the ditch without were almost as hie as the wall that they beat. But or they bare the artillery away, they beat the steeple of S. Johns church so, that the most part was broken and cast downe. The foresayd mantellets were appointed to beat S. Nicholas tower, and by the space of ten or twelve dayes they shot sore against it: but they had so sharpe and vigorous answere, that there was not one mantellet that abode whole an houre. The captaine of the sayd tower and his folke did such diligence and businesse in shooting off their pieces, that the enemies durst set up no more mantellets by day, nor shoot no more but onely by night, while the Moone did shine, which is a thing worthy of memory, of marvaile, and of praise. At the last when they had beaten against the sayd tower a certaine time, seeing that it furthered nothing, they tooke their ordinance from thence, and bare it where they thought best.

During the shot in the sayd place, the other captaines were not idle nor in a sleepe, but without cease night and day they beat the wall of England and Spaine, and set foureteene mantellets against it, shooting great bombards, whereof some of the stones were five or sixe spannes about, and some other of nine or ten: and within a moneth and lesse they cast downe the wall almost even smooth with the Barbican. And when the sayd wall was so beaten, they set to beat the bulwarke of Spaine for to raise the defences: and in their trenches they set three great bombards, which shot stones of eleven spannes in compasse, and with the sayd pieces they beat the sayd bulwarke and wall in such wise, that they made great bracks, and the stones and earth that fell, served the enemies for ladders, so that they might come upon the plaine ground. In like sort they raised the defences from the height of the bulwarke at the posterne of Provence, and set three great pieces on the brimme of the ditch, which shot stones of eleven spannes against the wall, and within a while they made a breach as at the posterne of Spaine. The artillery of the towne did shoot

without cease against the mantellets, and brake many of them, but they made other as it is sayd in the nights. For they had all things that belonged to them, & needed. And out of the posterne of England was shot a gunne that brake downe one of the sayd mantellets, and hit upon one of the pieces, and slew foure or five men, and bare away both the legs of the master of the ordinance, which died soone after: whereof the great Turke was very ill content, and sayd that he had rather have lost one of his basshas or captaines then the sayd master. Also it is to knowen that there were three or foure mantellets addressed against the plain ground of Italy, and by continuall beating of shot that they made, there was also a breach, and by the earth and stones that were fallen, they might come up to it.

Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious captaine Gabriel Martiningo, made within the towne against the breaches in the walles.

THe captaine Gabriel Martiningo, prompt, diligent, and expert to give remedies to the needfull places, foorthwith caused to make the traverses upon the wall whereas the breach was, with good repaires, and gunnes small and great which were set in the sayd traverses, the which shot not onely at the breaches but to the trenches, and made great murder of enemies aswell at the assaults that they made as otherwhiles. And beside the traverses, the sayd captaine planted small artillery, as harquebushes, and handgunnes upon certaine houses within the towne, that stood open against the breach, with good repaires: [II. i. 82.] and from that place great slaughter of Turks was made at the assaults. Also it is of trueth that beside the sayd mantellets that shot against the wall of England and Spaine with great bombards, were two mantellets in an hie place toward the way to the gardin of Maupas, in the which were certaine double gunnes, as basilisks with

holow stones and wilde fire in them, which shot against the wall into the towne at all aventures for to make murder of people: howbeit, thanked be God, they did no great harme but to the houses.

After these great & terrible beatings, and that the enemies had way to mount upon the towne walles, and come to hand with us by traversing of their trenches to the fallen earth within the breach more surely, and without hurt of our gunshot, shooting thorow holes that they made in the walles of the ditch without, they cast up much stone and earth, because it should cover them from the shot of the bulwarke of Auvergne. And also they shot fervently against the bulwarke of Spaine, for to raise the defences, of the which at the last they raised the most part, reserving only a few gunners below in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, which litle or nothing damaged them. And this is touching the gunshot, whereof I say not the third part, because it is a thing incredible to them that have not seene it. For some dayes they shot with those great bombards that were on the brimme of the ditch, and from the mantellets bent against the wall of England and Spaine 20 or 30 times and more. And I beleeve verily that since the creation of the world such artillery, and so great quantity was never bent and layed before any towne as hath bene against Rhodes at this siege. Wherfore it is no marvell if the walles be and have bene beaten downe, and if there be breaches and clifts in many places.

Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they overthrew part of the bulwarke of England.

AND because as it is sayd before, that the greatest hope that the enemies had to get the towne of Rhodes, was by mining, therefore now after that I have spoken of the gunshot and beatings, I shall shew of the mines that the Turks made, the which were in so great quantity, and in so many places, that I beleeve the

third part of the towne was mined: and it is found by account made, that there were about 60 mines, howbeit, thanked be God, many of them came not to effect, by occasion of the countermines that they within made, and also trenches that the right prudent lord the great master caused to be made deepe within the ditches, unto two or three foot of water. The which trenches and certaine pits that he had caused in the sayd ditches to be wrought, or the host arrived, served right well since: for night and day there were men in them to watch and hearken when the enemies mined, for to meet them, and cut their way, as was done many times.

And for to speake of the mines that had effect, and damaged us, it is to wit, that the fourth day of September, about foure houres after noone, the enemies put fire in two mines, one was betweene the posterne of Spaine and Auvergne, which did no hurt but to the Barbican. The other was at the bulwarke of England, which was so fell and strong, that it caused most part of the town to shake, and cast down a great part of the sayd bulwarke at the spring of the day: and by the earth and stones that fell into the ditches, the enemies came upon the bulwarke with their banners, and fought sore and mightily with our men, not with hands, but with shot of handgunnes. The lord great master that was come 15 dayes or more with his succours to the sayd bulwarke, went with his company to helpe them that fought. After that they had fought the space of two or three houres, the enemies repelled and driven backe by our men from the sayd bulwarke, and beaten with ordinance on every side, withdrew them with their losse, shame, and damage. And this was the first victory that our lord gave us, and there abode of our enemies a thousand and more.

A thousand & more Turkes slaine before the English bulwarke.

When this assault was done, they made another at the breach in the wall of Spaine, and mounted upon it, but the ordinance of the traverses of the walles and of the houses made so faire a riddance, that they were very

willing to withdraw themselves: for at the retreat, and also at their comming the sayd ordinance of the bulwarke did them great damage, albeit that they had made some repaire of earth. Of our men died that day 25 or thereabout, aswell knights as other. And the same day in the morning departed out of this world Gabriel de Pomerolles lieutenant to the lord master, which on a certaine day before fell from the wall as he went to see the trenches in the ditches, and hurt his breast, and for fault of good attendance he fell into a fever, whereof he died.

How the Turks assailed the bulwarke of England, and how they were driven away.

THe ninth day of the sayd moneth, at seven in the morning the enemies put fire in two mines; one at the posterne of Provence, which had none effect: the other was at the bulwarke of England, which felled another piece nigh to that that was cast downe
[II. i. 83.] afore. And the sayd mine was as fierce as the other, or more, for it seemed that all the bulwarke went downe, and almost all they that were in it ranne away. And when the standerd of the religion came into the sayd bulwarke, the enemies were at the breach ready to have entred: but when they saw the sayd standerd, as people lost and overcome, they went downe againe. Then the artillery of the bulwarke of Quosquino, and of other places, found them well enough, and slew many of them. Howbeit, their captaines made them to returne with great strokes of swordes and other weapons, and to remount upon the earth fallen from the sayd bulwarke, and pight seven banners nigh to our repaire. Then our men fought with morispikes and fixed speares against them the space of three whole houres, till at the last they being well beaten with great ordinance and small on every side, withdrew themselves. And of their banners our men gate one, for it was not possible to get any more: for assoone as any of our men went up on our

repaires, he was slaine with small gunnes of the trenches, and holes made in the walles of our ditches. And there was slaine of our enemies that day at the assault 2000 of meane men, and three persons of estate, which lay dead along in the ditch, with faire and rich harnesse. And it was reported to us from the campe, they were three saniacbeis, that is to say, great seneshalles or stuards. And of Christian men of our part abode about thirty persons. And this was the second victory given to us by the grace divine.

Two thousand Turks slaine at the English bulwarke.

How Sir John Bourgh Turcoplier of England was slaine at an assault of the English bulwarke.

THe 17 day of the same moneth, about midday, the enemy came againe to give another assault to the sayd bulwarke, at the same place aforesayd, without setting of fire in mines, and brought five banners with them, nigh to the repaires. Then was there strong fighting on both parts, and there were gotten two of their banners, of the which sir Christopher Valdenare, that time Castelaine of Rhodes, gate one: the other was in the hands of sir John Bourgh Turcoplier of England, chiefe captaine of the succours of the sayd posterne of England, a valiant man & hardy: and in holding of it he was slaine with the stroke of a handgunne, which was great damage. The sayd banner was recovered by one of our men. And after long fighting on both sides, the enemies seeing that they got nothing but stripes, returned into their trenches. At the sayd fray the lord prior of S. Giles pre John was hurt thorow the necke with a handgun, and was in great danger of death, but he escaped and was made whole. The same day, and the same houre of the sayd assault, the enemies mounted to the breach in the wall of Spaine, and came to the repaires to the handes of our men, and fought a great while: but the great quantity of artillery that was shot so busily and so sharply from our traverses on ech side,

and out of the bulwarks of Auvergne and Spaine, skirmished them so well, that there abode as many at that assault as at the other of England, well neere to the number of 5000. And they withdrew themselves with their great losse and confusion, which was the third time that they were chased and overcome: thanked be our Lord, which gave us the force and power so to doe, for they were by estimation a hundred against one.

Also the 22 day of the same moneth of September they fired a mine betweene Italy and Provence, which did no harme.

Of the terrible mine at the posterne of Auvergne.

ANd the 23 day of the same moneth they fired two mines, one at the posterne of Spaine, and the other by the bulwarke of Auvergne, the which mine by Auvergne was so terrible, that it made all the towne to shake, and made the wall to open from above to beneath unto the plaine ground: howbeit, it fell not, for the mine had vent or breath in two places, by one of the countermines, and by a rocke under the Barbican, the which did cleave, and by that cleft the fury and might of the mine had issue. And if the sayd two vents had not bene, the wall had bene turned upside downe. And for truth, as it was reported to us out of the campe, the enemies had great hope in the sayd mine, thinking that the wall should have bene overthrowen, and then they might have entred into the towne at their pleasures: but when they saw the contrary, they were very ill pleased. And the captaines determined to give assault at foure places at once, to make us the more adoo, and to have an entrance into the towne by one of the foure. And the sayd day and night they ceased not to shoot artillery: and there came in hope of the mine threescore thousand men and moe into the trenches.

How the bulwarke of Spaine was lost, and woonne againe. [II. i. 84.]

THe 24 day of the same moneth, a little before day, they gave assault at the breach of Spaine, to the bulwarke of England, to the posterne of Provence, and at the plaine ground of Italy, all at one houre & one time. The first that mounted to the breach of Spaine, was the Aga of the Janissaries, a valiant man, and of great courage with his company, and bare three score or three score and tenne banners and signes, and pight them in the earth of the breach, and then fought with our men, and mounted on our repaires, making other maner of fray and more rigorous then the other that were passed, and the sayd skirmish lasted about sixe houres. And forthwith, as the assault was given, a great sort of Turks entred into the bulwarke of Spaine, and set up eight or nine signes or banners upon it, and drove our men out, I can not tell how, unwares or otherwise. And they were lords of it three houres and more. Howbeit there were of our men beneath in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, the which bulwarke so lost, gave us evill hope. But incontinently the lord great master being at the defence of the posterne of England, having knowledge of the sayd losse, and that there was great fighting and resistance on both sides at the breach of Spaine, marched thither with the banner of the crucifix, leaving the charge of the sayd bulwarke in the hands of the bailife de la Moree messieur Mery Combant. And the lord mounted on the wall of Spaine, whereas then began a great skirmish, and every man layed his handes to worke, as well to put the enemies out of the breach, as to recover the bulwarke that was lost. And the sayde lord sent a company of men into the bulwarke by the gate of the mine, or by the Barbican, the which entred at the sayd gate, and went up, where they found but few Turkes. For the artillery of the posterne of England, right against the bulwarke of Spaine, had so well met and

scattered them, that within a while our men had slaine all them that were left. And thus the sayde bulwarke was gotten and recovered againe, and with all diligence were made new repaires and strengths to the sayd place. And in like sort, the enemies were put from the breach, and few of them escaped, and all their banners and signes were left with us. Surely it may be sayd, that after the grace of God (the traverses of Spaine and Auvergne, and the small artillery set on the houses right against the sayd breaches, as it is sayd, with the comming and presence of the lord great master) hath given us this dayes victory.

As touching the murder of the people, done by the artillery of the bulwarkes of England and Spaine, the quantity was such that a man could not perceive nor see any ground of the ditches. And the stench of the mastifs carions was so grievous, that we might not suffer it seven or eight dayes after. And at the last, they that might save themselves did so, and withdrew themselves to the trenches: and the reverend lord great master abode victorious of the sayd place, and in like sort of the other three assaults, the which were but little lesse then that of Spaine, for they fought long. But in conclusion, the enemies beaten on all sides, and in so many sorts, with artillery were put backe, and vanquished, that there died that day at all the foure places fifteene or sixteene thousand. And the slaughter was so great at the plaine Italy, of the cursed enemies, that the sea was made redde with their blood. And on our side also died to the number of an hundred men or more. And of men of dignity in the towne, having charge, died Sir Francis de Frenolz commander of Romania, which Sir Francis was chiefe captaine of the great ship of Rhodes, and he was slaine at the plaine of Italy, wounded with two strokes of harquebushes: it was great dammage of his death, for he was a worthy man, perfect, and full of vertues. There died also messieur Nastasy de sancta Camilla aforenamed, having two hundred men under him of the lord great masters succours. There died also divers other worthy

men that day, and many were maimed. Among all other that lost any member, messieur John de le Touz called Pradines, being at the sayd bulwarke, with a stroke of artillery had his arme smitten away, in great danger to have lost his life; howbeit by the helpe of God he died not. In like sort the same day was hurt Sir William Weston abovesayd, captaine of the posterne of England, and had one of his fingers stricken away with an harquebush: which knight behaved himselfe right woorthily at all the assaults. Of the Turkes part, of great men, were two principall captaines slaine under the Aga of the Janissaries, and another captaine that was come out of Surey to the campe certaine dayes before, with sixe hundred Mamelukes, and two or three thousand Moores. And of them that were hurt of great men the Beglarby of Natolia had a stroke with an arrow as he was in the trench of Provence. And many other were wounded, whose names be not rehearsed here, because of shortnesse.

Sir Will. Weston captaine of the English posterne hurt.

How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would have put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines under the bulwarke of England. [II. i. 85.]

DUring this assault, the great Turke was by his pavillion in a place that he had caused to be made, and saw all the businesse, and how his people were so sharpely put backe, and the victory lost on his side, & was very sore displeased, and halfe in despaire: and he sent for Mustafa Basha with whom he was angry, and chid him bitterly, saying that he had caused him to come thither, and had made him to beleeve that he should take the towne in fifteene dayes, or a moneth at the furthest; and he had beene there already three moneths with his army, and yet they had done nothing. And after these wordes he was purposed to put him to death in the campe: but the other Bashas shewed him that he ought not to do justice in the land of his enemies, for it would comfort them

and give them courage. Wherby he did moderate his anger, and left him for that time, and thought to send him to Cairo, least the people there would rebell, by occasion of the captaine of Cairo which died a few dayes before. Howbeit he departed not so suddenly, and or he went he thought to assay if he might do some thing for to please the Turke, aswell for his honour as for to save his person, and was marvellous diligent to make mines at the bulwarke of England for to overthrow it. And by account were made 11 mines aswell to the sayd bulwarke as elswhere, beside them spoken of before, and that they had fired. But the most part of the sayd mines came to no proofe though they put fire in them, and many were met with countermines, and broken by our men by the good diligence and sollicitude of sir Gabriel Du-chef steward of the house of the lord great master, which had the charge of the sayd countermines at the same bulwarke. In the which businesse he behaved himselfe well and worthily, and spared not his goods to cause the people to worke and travell, but spent thereof largely.

How the Turks were minded to have gone their way, and of the traitours within the towne, and of many great assaults.

THe Turks seeing that by mining they were nothing furthered, nor might not come to their intentions, and having but small store of gunpowder, were in deliberation and minde to have raised the siege, and gone their way. And in deed some of them bare their cariages toward the shippes: and also certaine number of people went out of the trenches with their standards straight to the ships. And it was written unto us from the campe how the Janissaries and other of the host would fight no more: and that they were almost all of one opinion for to go away, save some of the captaines of the foresayd Mustafa Bassha or Acmek Bassha. And in the meane season the false traitours that were in the towne wrote letters to the campe, giving them knowledge of all that

was sayd and done among us. And also an Albanese fled to the enemies campe, and warned them not to go, for the gunshot was nigh wasted, and that the most part of the knights and people should be theirs shortly.

In like sort then wrote the abovesayd Chanceller Sir Andrew de Merall, whose treason as then was not knowen: but when it commeth to the effect of his treason, I shall shew the knowledge that he gave to the enemies at divers times.

When the bashas and captaines of the hoste understood the sayd warnings, they all purposed for to tary, and caused those tidings of the towne to be knowen over all the army. And beganne againe to shoot artillery faster then ever they did, for new shot was come into the campe. Then Mustafa Bassha being in despaire that he could do nothing by mines, by gunshot, nor by assaults, he being ready to depart for to goe into Surey by the great Turkes commandement, before his departing hee thought once againe to assay his adventure, and made three assaults three dayes together. The first was on a Saturday the fourth day of October an houre before night. The other on Sunday in the morning. And the third on Munday after dinner. And the sayd three assaults were made to the bulwarke of England. And it was assailed but with stones and bagges full of artificiall fire. And at these three assaults many of our men were hurt with the sayd fire, and with the stones that came as thicke as raine or haile. But in the end the enemies got nothing but strokes, and returned into their trenches evill contented, and murmuring, and sware by their Mahomet that Mustafa Bassha shoulde not make them to mount any more to the sayd bulwarke. And that it was great folly for them to cause them to be slaine at the will and fantasie of one man. These wordes sayd in Greeke by some of the enemies were heard of our men as they went downe from the bulwarke. And because (as it is sayd) that the enemies at the assaults that were made, came up by the earth and stones that fell from the breaches,

[II. i. 86.] some of our men advised to clense the barbican, and take the earth out of the ditch, to the end that the enemies should not easily come upon the wall. And in effect weening that it were well and behoovefull to be done, by great diligence night and day by mines they voided the barbican, and the most part of the earth that lay in the ditch was brought into the towne, the which was hurtfull afterward, and was cause that the enemies got the foot of the wall. Notwithstanding, they had it but scarsely. But this cleansing furthered the time, and caused them to get it sooner then they should have done if the earth had lien still: but their finall intent was to raise the defence of the bulwarks, and then passe at their pleasure, and enter into the barbican, as they have done: for the enemies seeing that the barbican was clensed, thought to get into it by trenches, and so they did, howbeit they were certaine dayes letted by our handgun shot. The enemies seeing that they might not come neere it, covered their trenches with tables to save themselves: and then they made a mine whereby they might goe to the barbican. So by these two meanes, afterward they were repaired with earth and with a certaine wall that they made for to eschew the shot of the bulwarks of Auvergne and Spaine: and in the mine they found but two gunners, which they slew by force of men. By this maner they being covered on all parts and without any danger, passed thorow and lept into the barbican, and got the foot of the wall; which was the 17 day of October, an unhappy day for the poore towne, and occasion of the ruine thereof, and winning of the same.

At this point they slept not, but lightly and with great delight they began to picke and hew the wall. And weening to make remedy therefore, and to finde meanes to drive them from the sayde barbican with engins of fire and barrels of gunpowder, wee slew many of them, but it availed nothing: for the quantitie and multitude of people that travelled there was so great,

that they cared not for losse of them. And if we had had men enow within the towne, there might have bene remedy to have raised them from thence: but considering that our force and totall hope was in people, wee left to doe many things that might have beene done, and that should have bene good then and other times also, for fault of men of warre. At the last it was pondred by Sir Gabriel Martiningo, that there was no remedy but to hew the wall for to meet them, and beat them with ordinance and with engins of fire to burne and undoe them. Then our men began to hew the wall, and made some holes to shoot at the enemies that slept not, but did as wee did, and shot at us, and indeed they slew & hurt many of our men. Then Sir Gabriel Martiningo ordeined to make repaires within the towne at the front where they did cut the wall, to the end that after the walles were cut, the enemies should know with whom to meet. The traverses were made on ech side with good artillery great and small: and the sayd traverses and repaires were of the length that the enemies had cut the wall, and beganne at the massife of Spaine made by the reverend lord great master Mery d'Amboise, & ended at the church of S. Salvador. The which traverses and repaires the vulgar people call the Mandra, that is to say, the field.

The meane time that the repaires and traverses were made with all diligence, Sir Gabriel Martiningo never ceased going to every place to purvey for all things: and he being on the bulwarke of Spaine to ordeine all things that were needfull, there came a stroke of a handgun from the trenches that smote out his eye, and put him in danger of his life, but thanked be God, he recovered his health within a moneth and a halfe. His hurt came ill to passe, for the need that we had of him that time in all things, and specially to the repaires of the breaches. Nevertheles the lord priour of S. Giles (not ignorant in all such things) with other men expert in warre, attended to the sayd repaires and traverses, there and elswere.

The enemies on the other side night and day without rest (for the great number of labourers that they had hourely and newly ready) hewed and undermined the sayd wall.

And the 20 day of October they put fire in the undermines, weening to have cast downe the wall, but they could not: then they would have pulled it downe with great ropes and ancres, but the artillery of the bulwarke of Auvergne brake their ropes, and sent them away lightly.

At the last they made a mine under the sayd wall and breach: and the 26 day of the same moneth they did put fire to the same mine, weening to have overthrowen the wall, which it did not, but raised it, and made it to fall almost straight upright, which was more disadvantage to the enemies then profit. Then they shot artillery at it, which in fewe dayes beat it downe, and they had opening and way to come into the Towne. Nevertheless it was not necessary for them as then to enter: for the artillery of our repaires beat them in the forepart, and the artillery lying at the two milles at the posterne of Quosquino, and in that of England, whereas was a basiliske that beat right upon the breach with other pieces: and therefore the enemies sought other meanes, and beganne to raise the earth betweene our two walles, drawing toward the bulwarke of England on the one side, and toward Auvergne on the other side, and would have
[II. i. 87.] cut the wall further then our traverses were for to come in unbeaten of our artillery. Then were the repaires inlarged and made greater with the wall that was cut, of the height of twelve, & 16 foot in bredth: and so the enemies might goe no further forward, but shot great artillery against our repaires, for to breake and cast them downe, and also they made trenches for to come right to the breach, and unto the repaires: and certeinly we looked day by day, and houre by houre for to have some assault. The reverend lord great master, the which, as it is sayd, had left the bulwarke of England the day that

the great assault was made, and since that time he moved not from thence while they hewed the wall, & where as the breach was, because that they were most dangerous & most unquiet places. And continually the sayd lord kept him behinde the sayd repaires with his knights and men of succours, intentively ready and prepared to live and die, and to receive his enemies as they ought to bee received. And he abode three or foure dayes at the sayd breach, continuing since it was made, unto the end, fighting with his enemies every day in great perill of his body: for oftentimes hee put himselfe further in the prease then needed for the danger of his person, but he did it for to hearten and strengthen the courage of his people, being so well willing to defend and die for the faith.

How the enemies assailed the posternes of Provence and Italy, and how they were driven away.

BY the will of our Lord, the enemies alway in feare and dread, would give none assault, but continually shot against our repaires, and made trenches for to passe forward into the towne: by the which trenches they shot infinitely with harquebushes and handgunnes, and slew many of our folke, and specially of them that wrought and made the repaires that were broken and crased. And they put us in such extremity, that we had almost no more slaves nor other labouring people for to repaire that which they brake night and day, which was a great hinderance for us, and the beginning of our perdition. And if we had much to doe in that place, there was not lesse at the gate of Provence, and at the plaine of Italy: for dayly they were doing either with assault or skirmish, and most at the plaine of Italy. Howbeit by the helpe of our Lord with the good conducting of the captaine of succours of the same place, the priour of Navarre, that was prompt and intentive, and could well incourage his men, the enemies had alway the woorst, and were

driven from the sayd plaine, and from the breach of Provence.

How the treason of Sir Andrew de Merall was knowen, and of the marvellous assaults that the Turks made.

UPon these termes and assaults, the treason of the chancellour Sir Andrew de Merall, of whom I spake before, was perceived: for a servaunt of his, named Blasie, was found shooting a quarrell of a crossebow with a letter, whereof he was accused to the lord great master, which commanded to take him and examine him by justice, and he confessed the shot of that letter & of other before, at the commandement of his master: and sayd that he had great acquaintance with the Turks bashas, and that it was not long since he had written a letter to them, warning them that they should not go, for gunshot began to faile, and the men were wasted by slaying and hurting at the assaults in great quantity: and if they abode still and gave no more assaults, at the last the towne should be theirs. And divers other things the servant sayd of his master, of the which I have spoken part before at the beginning, and of the warning that he gave to the great Turke for to come.

But to returne to the plaine of Italy. After many battels and assaults done in the sayd place, by continuall shot of seventeene great gunnes that beat the sayd plaine, the repaires and traverses were almost broken and lost. And by trenches the enemies were come joyning to the breach, and never ceased to grate the earth and scrape the earth to cause the repaires & traverses to fall: and at the last the most part fell downe, & our men were constrained to leave the sayd plaine, save a cantell that was toward the sea, as it were the third part thereof. Certaine dayes afore the enemies came to the foot of the plaine, and did cut it, and rased the earth, & at the last they passed thorow unto the towne wall: and anon began to hew and cut as they did at that of Spaine.

The lord great master seeing that, anon cast down a part of the church of our Lady de la Victoria, and of an other church of S. Panthalion. And within they began to make the repaires and traverses as at the place of Spaine, whereto was made extreme diligence, but not such as the lord would, and as was needfull, because there were no labourers for to helpe. After that the enemies had woon the most part of the bulwarke of England & the plaine of Italy, they purposed to make assault to the sayd [II. i. 88.] plaine, and to the breach of Spaine, and to enter into our repaires to winne them for to make an end of us. And for ever to affeeble the repaires and for to abash us, the 28 day of November all along the day and night they ceased not to shoot great artillery, both from the brimmes of the ditches with those great pieces, casting stones of nine & eleven foot about, and from the mantellets without. And as it was reckoned, they shot the same day and night 150 times or more against our repaires and traverses of the wall.

And in the morning the 29 day of the same moneth, the vigill of S. Andrew at the spring of the day, the enemies went thorow the breach with their banners, and entred into the repaires with greater number of people then they did at the great battell in September, hardily and furiously for to fight with us. But at their comming in, the artillery of the traverses, and the handgunnes, and the gunshot of the milles found them so well and so sharply, that he that came in, was anon dispatched and overthrowen, and there abode above 2000 of the Turks slaine. The other that came after seeing their fellowes so evill welcommed, as people that were astonied and lost, they turned againe to their trenches: at whome the artillery of the milles shot victoriously, and hasted them to go apace: and by report from the campe there died sixe thousand or mo that day: the which day might be called very happy, and well fortunate for us, thanked be God, for there was none that thought to escape that day, but to have died all, and lost the towne: howbeit, the

pleasure of our Lord was by evident miracle to have it otherwise, and the enemies were chased and overcome. And it is to be noted that the same day the raine was so great and so strong, that it made the earth to sincke a great deale that they had cast into the ditches, for to cover them from the shot of Auvergne. And the sayd earth being so suncken, the artillery of the sayde bulwarke (unwares to them) smote them going and comming, and made great murder of the sayd dogges. The sayd day also the enemies came to the plaine of Italy for to assault it; but when they understood that their fellowes had bene put backe so rudely, and with so great slaughter, they were afrayd, and so they returned againe to their trenches.

How the Turks got the plaine ground of Spaine.

AND that done, Acmek Basha seeing their businesse every day goe from woorse to woorse, and that at the assaults were but losse of people, without doing of any good, and that there was no man that willingly would go to it any more, he intended to give no more assaults, but to follow his trenches, and by them enter covertly without losse of a man from the breach to the other end of the towne. Semblably he intended for to winne the plaine earth beside Spaine: the which to get, he came at pleasure to the foot of the wall, & began to beat downe the plaine ground, and to give many skirmishes and conflicts to our folke that kept it. And there were slaine many good men. And at the last, for default of more helpe and of gunshot, it was left and given up of our men, and so lost. That done, the enemies came thither as in other places. And this is the third place where they came nere to the foot of the wall. And whoso wel considered in what estate the poore towne was at that time, seeing their enemies have so great advantage, might well say, and judge, that at length it should be taken, and a lost towne.

How a Genouois came to the gate of the towne for to speake for a treaty, and deliverance of the same.

A Few dayes after the saide journey a Christian man that was in the campe, the which by his speech was a Genouois or Siotis, came to the gate of Auvergne, and demanded to parle, and after that he was demanded what he would have, he sayd that he had marvell of us why we would not yeeld our selves, seeing the pitious estate the towne was in: and he as a Christian man counselled us to yeeld our selves with some agreement: and that if we would looke thereto, that some should be found expedient to do somewhat for our safegard. And it is very like that he sayd not such words, nor spake so farforth in the matter, without commission from some of the chiefe of the campe, or of the great Turke himselfe. To the which Siotis was answered, that he should go away with an evill hap, and that it needed not to speake of appointment: and that though the enemies had great advantage, there was yet enough wherewith to receive and feast them, if they made any assault. These words heard, he went away: and two dayes after he came againe, and demanded to speake with a marchant Genouois of the towne, named Matthew de Ura, and he was answered that he which he demanded, was sicke, and might not come, but that he should deliver the letter, and it should be given to him. The sayd Siotis sayd nay, and that he would give it himselfe, and speake with him: and sayd that he had also a letter of the Grand signior, for the lord master. Upon this he was bidden to go his way: and to set him packing, they shot after him a piece of artillery. The next [II. i. 89.] day after Ballantis Albanese that was fled thorow the breach of Spaine to the campe, came from the sayd Genouois proposing such words, or like as the other had sayd, saying likewise that the Grand signior had sent a letter to the lord master. To whom no words were spoken, nor answere made, for the lord great master

as wise and prudent considering that a towne that will heare intreatings is halfe lost, defended upon the paine of death sith that Siotis had spoken these two times, that none should be so hardy to speake nor answere them of the campe, without his knowledge & commandement: but seeing they were such ambassadors, they reported the words of the sayd Albanese, or ever the sayd lord had knowledge of the words of the Siotis. The which words spread thorow the towne put many folke in thought, and would have undone that that the Siotis said: the which is no marvell whereas is much people, for with good will and most often they regard sooner to save the lives of them and their children, then they doe to the honour of the residue. Howbeit not one durst speake a word openly of that businesse, but all secretly: and some came and spake to certaine lords of the great crosse for to speake to ye lord great master. And in effect some lords spake therof to him, persuading him that it should be good to thinke thereon, seeing that the towne went to losse. To whom the sayd lord shewed many things for his honor and the Religion: and that no such things ought to be done or thought for any thing in the world, but rather he and they to die. The lords hearing this answere, went their wayes, and then returned againe to the sayd lord, advising him more to thinke well on all things, and to the salvation of his towne and of his religion. And they sayd moreover, that they doubted that the people would rather have a peace then to die themselves, their wives and children. The lord seeing that such words were as things inforced, as who should say, if thou do it not, we shall do it as wise men and prudent, willing to make remedies of needfull things by counsell, called the lords of his Councell for to have advise in these doings, and other. And when they were assembled, the lord proposed the words that were to him denounced, and sayd: With these termes and wordes came two or three marchants and citizens of the towne that knocked at the doore of the Councell, and presented a supplication

to the great master, and lords of the Councel, whereby they required and besought meekely the sayd reverend lord to have respect to them and their poore housholds, and to make some appointment with the great Turke, seeing that the sayd matter was already forward in purpose, that he would do it; and that it would please him to consider the pitious & sorowful estate that the towne was in; & that there was no remedy to save it: and at the lest way, if the lord would not make appointment, to give them leave (of his goodnesse) to have their wives and their children out of the Rodes to save them, for they would not have them slaine nor made slaves to the enemies. And the conclusion was, that if the sayd lord would not purvey therefore, they would purvey for it themselves. And there was written in the said request the names of eight or ten of the richest of the towne. Which words of the sayd supplication being heard, the sayd lord and his councell were abashed and ill content as reason would, seeing that it was but a course game, and thought on many things to make answere to the sayd citizens, for to content and appease them: and also to see if they should intend to the appointment, as they required, and after as the Genouoys had reported: and the better to make the sayd answere, and to know more plainly in what estate the towne was in all things: that is to wit, first of gunpowder, and then of men of warre, and of the batteries. Also were demanded and asked the lord of S. Giles pre John, which had the charge of the gunpowder, and then the captaine Sir Gabriel Martiningo, for being over their men of warre (as it is said) as to him that knew the truth; if the towne might holde or not, or there were any meanes to save it. The sayd lord of S. Giles arose, saying and affirming upon his honour and his conscience that almost all the slaves and labourers were dead and hurt, and that scantly there were folke enow to remove a piece of artillery from one place to another, and that it was unpossible without folke any more to make or set up the repaires the which every day

were broken and crushed by the great, furious, and continuall shot of the enemies artillery. As for gunpowder the sayd lord sayd, that all that was for store in the towne, was spent long agone, and that which was newly brought, was not to serve & furnish two assaults. And he seeing the great advantage of the enemies being so farre within the towne, without power to put or chase them away, for default of men, was of the opinion that the towne would be lost, and that there was no meanes to save it. The words of the sayd lord finished, the captaine Gabriel Martiningo for his discharge sayd and declared to the reverend lord and them of the Councell, that seeing and considering the great beatings of the shot that the towne had suffered, and after seeing the entring which the enemies had so large, and that they were within the towne by their trenches both endlong and overthwart; seeing also that in two other places they were at the foot of the wall, and that the most part of our knights and men of warre and other were slaine and hurt, and the
[II. i. 90.] gunpowder wasted, and that it was unpossible for them to resist their enemies any more, that without doubt the towne was lost if there came no succors for to helpe and resist the siege. The which opinions and reasons of these two woorthy men and expert in such feats, understood and pondered by the lord great master and the lords of the Councell, they were most part advised for to accept and take treaty if it were offered, for the savegard of the common people, and of the holy reliques of the church, as part of the holy crosse, the holy throne, the hand of St. John, and part of his head, and divers other reliques. Howbeit the lord great master to whom the businesse belonged very neere, and that tooke it most heavily, and was more sorrowfull then any of the other, as reason required, was alway stedfast in his first purpose, rather willing to die then to consent to such a thing, and sayd againe to the lordes of the Councell: Advise you, and thinke well on every thing, and of the end that may happen, and he proposed to them two points: that is to

wit, Whether it is better for us to die all, or to save the people and the holy reliques. The which two points and doubts were long time disputed, and there were divers opinions: neverthelesse, at the last they sayd all, that howbeit that it were well and safely done to die for the faith, and most honor for us, notwithstanding seeing and considering that there is no remedy to resist against our enemies, and meanes to save the towne; and on the other part, that the great Turke would not oppresse us to forsake our faith, but only would have the towne, it were much better then, and tending to greater wealth to save all the jewels abovesayde, that should be defiled and lost if they came in the handes of the enemies of the faith. And also to keepe so much small people, as women and children, that they would torment and cut some in pieces, other take, and perforce cause them to forsake their faith, with innumerable violences, and shamefull sinnes that should be committed and done, if the towne were put to the sword, as was done at Modon, and lately at Bellegrado. Whereby they did conclude, that it were better, and more agreeable to God, for to take the treaty, if it were proffered, then for to die as people desperate, and without hope.

How the great Turke sent two of his men to the towne, to have it by intreating. And how the lord great master sent two knights to him, to know his assurance.

UPon these consultations and words almighty God that saveth them which trust in him, and that would not that so many evils and cruelties should come to the poore city & inhabitants of it, and also that the great Turke might not arise in over great pride and vaineglory, put him in minde to seeke to have the sayd towne by treaty, which he ought not to have done for his honour, nor by reason, for the towne was in a maner his. And in like sort he ought not to have let us goe as he did, seeing that

we were his mortall enemies ever, and shall be still in the time comming, considering the great slaughter of his people that we have made in this siege. Howbeit, the eternall goodnesse hath blinded him, and hath pleased that these things should be thus, for some cause unknowen of us. And for conclusion, the great Turke sent to have a communication and parle in following the words of the Genouese aforesayd. Then was a signe set upon the churche of the abbey without the towne, to the which was made answere with another at the milles of Quosquino. And forthwith came two Turks to speake with them of the towne. Then the lord great master sent the Priour of S. Giles pre John, and the captaine Gabriel Martiningo to know the cause of their comming. And when they came to them, without holding of long speech, the two Turkes delivered them a letter for to beare to the lord great master from the great Turke, and then returned safely into their tents. When the two lords had received it, they bare & presented it to the reverend lord great master, which caused it to be read. By the which the great Turke demanded of the lord great master to yeeld the towne to him, and in so doing he was content to let him go & all his knights, and all the other people of what condition soever they were, with all their goods & jewels safe without feare of any harme or displeasure of his folks. And also he sware and promised on his faith so to do. The sayd letter was sealed with his signet that he useth, that is as it were gilded. And he sayde afterward, that if the lord great master would not accept the sayde treaty, that none of the city, of what estate soever he were, should thinke to escape, but that they all unto the cats should passe by the edge of the sword, and that they should send him an answere forthwith, either yea or nay. After the sight of the contents of the sayd letter of so great weight, and the time so short for to give so great an answere, and with demand, the sayd lord great master and all the lords of the Councell were in great thought, howbeit they determined to give

SULTAN SOLYMAN THE GREAT

an answere, seeing the estate of the towne so ill that it could be no woorse. Hearing the report and opinions a day or two before of the two lords ordeined to view the defects of the towne, saying that the towne was lost without remedy : considering also that the principalles of the towne would have appointment. And in likewise, at the [II. i. 91.] other counsell all the lordes had already willed and declared, that it were better to save the towne for respect of the poore people, then to put it all whole to the furie of the enemies, whereupon they agreed and concluded to take the foresayd treatie. After the conclusion taken, answere was made readily for a good respect ; that is to weet, to take the Turke at his worde, to the ende that he should not repent him of it, nor change his opinion. For every houre his people wanne and entered further and further into the towne. And for to goe unto the great Turke were ordained these two knights, sir Passin afore named, and he bare the token of the White crosse : and another of the towne named Robert de Perruse judge Ordinarie.

When these two ambassadours had made them readie, they went out at the gate of Quosquino, and went to the tent of Acmek basha, capitaine generall. And because it was late, and that they might not goe that day to the great Turke, on the next day in the morning the foresaid captaine Acmek led and conveied our sayd ambassadours to the great Turkes pavillion, that they might have the more knowledge plainely, and for to heare his will as touching the wordes which were reported to the reverend lord great master, and after, the contents of his letter and writings.

When the sayd two ambassadours were departed out of the towne, there did enter two men of authoritie of the campe ; one was nephew or kinsman of the sayd Acmek, the other was the great Turkes truchman, which the lord master caused to be well received, and they were lodged nigh the sayd gate of Quosquino. And then truce was taken for 3. dayes, and the enemies came to our repaires, and spake with our folke and dranke one with another.

How the ambassadours of Rhodes spake with the great Turke, and what answere they had.

WHen our ambassadours had made reverence to the great Turke, they sayd that the lord great master of Rhodes had sent them to his Imperiall majestie to know what he requested, and desired that they might talke together, and how the great master had received his letter. The great Turke answered them by his truchman, that of demanding to speake together, nor writing of letter to the great master he knew nothing. Howbeit, sith the great master had sent to him for to know his will, he bade say to them that the great master should yeeld him the towne. And in so doing he promised by his faith for to let him goe with all his knights, and all other that would goe with their goods, without receiving any displeasure of his people of the campe. And if he accepted not the sayd treatie, to certifie him that he would never depart from Rhodes till he had taken it, and that all his might of Turkie should die there, rather then hee would faile of it, and that there should neither great nor litle escape, but unto the cats they should be all cut in pieces, and sayd that within 3. dayes they should give him an answere, for hee would not that his people should loose time, and that during the sayd truce they should make no repaires nor defences within the towne.

When the great Turke had ended his wordes, our ambassadours tooke their leave of him, and returned to the towne, and there was given to each of them a rich garment of branched velvet, with cloth of gold of the Turkish fashion. Then Acmek basha tooke sir Passin, and led him to his pavillion, and intreating him right well, caused him to abide all that day and night: and in eating and drinking they had many discourses of things done at the siege, questioning each with other. And among all other things our ambassadour demaunded of Acmek, and prayed him to tell for trueth how many men died of the campe while the siege was laied. The said

Basha sware upon his faith and certified, that there were dead of the campe of violent death, that is to say, of gunshot and other wayes, 64000. men or more, beside them that died of sicknesse, which were about 40. or 50. thousand.

64000. *Turks slaine at the siege of Rhodes.*

How one of the ambassadours made answere of his message, and how the Commons would not agree to yeeld the towne.

REturne we now to our purpose and to the answere that our ambassadours brought to the lord great master. The sayd Robert Perruse made the answere, and told what the great Turke had sayd, certifying that he would have an answere quickly either yea or nay. The which answere after the demaund of the great Turke hath bene purposed and concluded by the whole counsel, and his offer & treatie accepted, howbeit the sayd ambassadours had it not to do so soone nor the first time that they went for good reasons, but yet they would not deferre it, for feare least he should repent him. And [II. i. 92.] upon these determinations that they would have sent the sayd Peruse to beare the answere, came some of the common people of the towne to the lord great master, that was with the lordes of the counsell, and sayd that they were advertised of the appointment that he had made with the great Turke, and that he would yeeld the towne with covenaunts by him taken, which they supposed ought not to be done without calling of them. And because they were not called to it, they sayd that they would not agree thereto, and that it were better for them to die, for the great Turke by some way would put them all to death, as was done in Bellegrado in Hungarie.

How the lord great master sent two ambassadors for the Commons to the great Turke.

WHen the reverend lord great master had heard their wordes, he sayd graciously to them, that as touching the acceptation of the great Turks offer, it was

needful so to do in the degree that the towne was, and the causes wherefore he had done it the counsell had seene and discussed, and that it was a thing that might not, nor ought not to be sayd nor published in common, for reporting of it to the enemies by traitours, but be kept still and secret. And moreover, that it was concluded to make an answere shortly, for to take the great Turke at his word, least he repented him. For if they had bene called, or the answere had bene given, it had bene overlong businesse, and in the meane time the Turke might have changed his mind, and that that he had done and concluded with the great Turke, the lordes of the counsell had well regarded and considered in all things, and for their profite and advantage, as much or more as for that of the Religion. And that they would send to the great Turke againe other ambassadours, the better to know his will, and to be surer of his promise. Then the lord great master ordained two other ambassadours for to goe to the great Turke, which were two Spaniardes, the one named sir Raimon Market, and the other messire Lopez, at whose issuing entered Sir Passin the first ambassadour, and the other two went to the tent of Acmek basha, for to leade them to the great Turke. And when they were within the Turkes pavillion, and had done him reverence as appertained, our ambassadours sayd that the great master had heard and seen his demaund to yeeld the towne. And for y^{t} it is a thing of great weight, and that he had to doe and say with many men of divers nations, and because the time of answere was so short, hee might not doe that that hee demaunded so soone. Howbeit hee would speake with his people, and then hee would give him an answere.

How the Turke began the assault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne.

WHen the great Turke heard the answere of our ambassadours, he sayd nothing, but commaunded his Bashas that they should begin the battell againe to

the towne, the which was done, and then the truce was broken, and the shot of the enemies was sharper then it was afore. And on the other side nothing, or very litle for fault of pouder: for that that there was left, was kept for some great assault or neede. Howbeit the sayd Amek Basha kept one of the ambassadours, and messire Lopez onely entered. The great master seeing the warre begun, and the shot thicker then it was afore, and the enemies entred hourely by their trenches further into the towne, called them that before had sayde to him, that they would not the towne should be yeelded, but had rather for to die. And therefore the sayd lord sayd that he was content for to die with them, and that they should dispose them to defend themselves well, or to doe their endevour better then they had done in times past. And to the ende that each one of them should have knowledge of his will (for as then he spake but to foure or five of them that gainesayd him) he made a cry through all the towne, that all they that were holden to be at the posternes or gates should give attendance, and not to come away day nor night on payne of death: for afore, the Rhodians came but litle there. And that the other that were not of the posternes, or that were of his succours, should goe to the breach of Spaine where the sayd lord was continually, and not to goe away day nor night on the abovesayd payne. The sayd cry made, each one were obedient for a day or twaine, howbeit a yoong Rhodian left his posterne and went to his house, which on the next day was hanged for breaking of the lordes commaundement. Notwithstanding that, by litle and litle the people annoyed them, and their heartes failed, and left the posternes and breaches: in such wise, that the enemies might come in without finding great resistaunce, but of a fewe that the lord master caused to abide there (that is to weet) knightes of his succours. And in the night he sought out moe people for to keepe ye watch at the said breach, and paied to them as much as they would. The sayd lord seeing himself thus aban- [II. i. 93.]

doned and left of his people, he sent to aske them againe wherefore they did not their endevour, and why they came not to day, as they sayd before. Which made answere that they sawe and knew well that the towne was lost for certaine reasons that were told them: by occasion whereof they had gainesaid the ordinance of the sayd lord, and sayd that they had bene wrong enformed of divers things: and on the other side, that they feared that the Turke would not hold his word. But sithens they sawe that there was none other remedie but to abide the adventure and fortune, they sayd that they put all to the sayd lord to doe what he thought good, and that hee would see what were best for them. And required the lord to doe them so much favour as to let them choose one or two among them for to goe to the great Turke with his ambassadours for to have suretie of him. The which was granted, and two ordinarie ambassadours were chosen for them; one Nicholas Vergotie, and the other Piero of saint Cretice, and the foresayd Passin should returne with them for to make the sayd answere. Then the great master or they departed (prolonging the time as much as he might) advised to send a letter to the great Turke, the which his grandfather had written or caused to be written. In the which letter he gave his malediction or curse to his children and successours, if they enterprised to besiege Rhodes. The sayd Robert Perruse bare the sayd letter, and as he was accustomed, he went to Acmek Basha for to cause him to have audience, and to present the sayd letter. And the Basha sayd hee would see the letter: for it is the guise in the great Turkes court, that none may speake to him nor give him a letter, but he be advertised first what shall be said, or what shall be written. When the Basha had seene the wordes written in the said letter, he brake it and cast it on the ground, and did tread upon it, saying many injurious and villanous words to the sayd judge. And bade him returne apace to his great master, and bid him to thinke on his

businesse, and to make answere to the great lord (as he had sent and commaunded) or els it should not be long or he sawe his dolorous and wofull ende. And that same day were taken two men of ours that bare earth toward the bulwarke of England. Of whom the sayd Acmek caused an officer to cut off their noses, fingers and eares, and gave them a letter to beare to the lord great master, wherein were great wordes and threatnings. After the sayd Perruse was returned, messire Passin was sent againe to the sayde Basha, for to know of him if the great Turke would be content with any summe of money for his costes and expenses, that he had made for his armie. The which answered that such words or offers of silver were not to bee sayd nor presented to the great lord on paine of life, and that hee set more by honour then by silver. And therefore hee bade him returne and say to the great master that hee should make answere to the great lord after his demaund, to yeeld or not yeeld the towne. The sayd Passin made relation of the wordes of the Basha to the great master: the which for the great sorrow that hee had deferred alwayes, saw himselfe in such pitious estate. Notwithstanding, the sayd lord putting all to the wil of our lord, & considering that there was no remedie to do otherwise, nor to resist any more his enemies: and being constrained on all sides to make the appointment, with great heavinesse, inestimable dolours and bewailings, at the last gave his voyce to yeeld the towne (with the treatise or offers to him presented) which was the 20. day of December, the yeere of our lord a thousand five hundreth and two and twentie.

An answere to such as will make question for the deliverance of the citie of Rhodes.

AND if by any it were demaunded wherefore the sayde lord great master hath yeelded the towne to the great Turke, requesting it with treatie and covenaunts, which was a signe that he feared and would no more fight, but

goe his way. To this I answere: Notwithstanding that the great Turke was advertised by some traitours, and by other that fled into the campe, that the powder almost failed, and that there were but fewe men of warre within the towne, yet he beleeved not, nor gave credence of all that was reported to him, but thought verily that wee had ynough for a great while, and considered that hee must tary till they were wasted and spent, whereto behooved time. And seeing all his estate entered into strange places, and into the lands of his enemies, and had bene there alreadie sixe moneths, (and not without great danger of his owne person) thinking on the other side, that taking the towne by assault, he should lose many of his folke; and yet when hee had overcome and wonne the towne, they should fall each upon other in departing of the bootie or pillage, doubting finally the hazard of warre. For these reasons and other that may be alleaged, the great Turke had much rather to have the towne by composition and treatie, then otherwise. And it suffised him to drive his olde enemies out of the countreys of Levant, and set the subjects of his [II. i. 94.] countreys in rest and suretie. And we of the towne that knew our weaknesse, & that we might do no more, it seemed better to save so much small people, then we and they to fall into the furie of our enemies, for otherwise could we not have done, but tempt God, and died as in dispaire.

How the citie of Rhodes was yeelded to the great Turke, and of the evil behaviour of certaine Turkes.

BUt to returne to our principall: After that the reverend great master had given his voyce to the yeelding of the towne, he sent the said Passin againe for to beare it to the great Turke. And with him went the two men that were chosen of the Commons, and they went all three together to the tent of Acmek Basha. To whom the sayd Passin first made this pitious answere

and conclusion to yeeld the towne. Notwithstanding, he sayd the people had ordained two men among them for to goe to the great Turke, to speake of their particular doings, and to have some suretie of their persons, wives, and children, to the ende that it were not done to them, as to those of Bellegrado. The sayd Acmek led the three ambassadours toward the great Turke. And when they were entered into the pavillion, the sayde messire Passin made the report of his ambassade to the sayd lord, and sayd that the great master yeelded him the towne under the promise made by his Imperiall majestie, with the treatie promised. Of the which promise hee held him sure and certaine, and that hee would doe no lesse: howbeit, the people had required him to give them licence to goe to his majestie for to aske some request of him. Then the two citizens besought the great Turke that he would for suretie remoove his campe from the towne, to the ende that they should have no maner of harme to their bodies nor goods, and that they that would goe, should goe, and that they that would abide still, might be well entreated. The great Turke answered by his interpreter to messire Passin, that hee accepted the towne, and promised agayne upon his faith, and on his honour to the lord great master, that he would performe that he had promised, and sent to him by the same Passin that he should not doubt of the contrary: and if he had not ships ynough for to carie his people and their goods, that hee would let them have of his, and that he would deliver the artillerie that was woont to be in the ships of ye Religion. And as touching the request of the people, he sayd that he would remoove the campe, and that they that would abide, might abide, and they should bee well entreated, and should pay no tribute in five yeeres, and their children should not be touched, and who so would goe within the sayd space of five yeeres, they should goe in good time. These wordes ended, our ambassadours tooke leave of him, & when they were departed, they spake againe with the sayd

Acmek Basha for to have a letter of the contents of the promise of the sayd lord. And by his commandement the sayd letter was made, whereby he promised to let go the great master with all his knights, strangers and men of the towne that would go with their goods, without having displeasure of any of his people of the campe, or by the wayes. When the letter was made, it was delivered to messire Passin. And as touching withdrawing of the campe, the sayd Basha promised againe that he would do it, since the great lord would so: howbeit he remooved but from the trenches, and some of his people went a litle way off. And the sayd Basha demaunded in the Turkes behalfe, that they should send to him in hostage foure and twentie knights, whereof two should bee of the great Crosse, and two and twentie citizens. And the sayd lord should send onely a captaine with three or foure hundred Janissaries, for to keepe the towne when the campe were withdrawen. And so it was done; and beside this hee gave twelve dayes respite to the lord great master, to prepare him and depart out of Rhodes. And in conclusion all this done, our ambassadours returned and made the report to the reverend great master of all that they had done and practised with the great Turke, and the sayd Basha, and gave him the letter for to goe surely. Then the great master with his counsell ordained the foure and twentie persons, and other of the towne. When they were readie, they went to the campe, where they were well intreated foure dayes. During this time, Ferra Basha passed from the maine land to the campe, with foure and twentie or five and twentie thousand Janissaries, which by the commaundement of the great Turke was gone upon the borders of the countreis of the Sophie. For the Turke seeing the people of the campe discouraged and willing no more to goe to the assaults, sent to the sayde Basha to come to Rhodes with his people, which would have withstood us sore, as fresh men. And it was the worke of God and a wonderfull myracle, that they came after that the

appointment was made: for if they had come afore, it is to be supposed that the deed had gone otherwise, and there had bene many strokes given: but I beleeve that the ende should have bene pitious for us, but God would not that the Turke should have victory upon us as hee might have had, seeing the great advauntage that he had in all things, but he blinded him and would not that he should know his might. And on the other part it may be said and marveiled how it was possible alway [II. i. 95.] to have overcome our enemies in all assaults & skirmishes, and at the end to loose the towne, it was the will of God that so hath pleased for some cause to us unknowen. It is to bee thought, that lacke of men and gunshot, and the enemies so farre within the towne, and ready to enter at other places, with the treasons, have caused the towne to be lost. Two or three dayes after the comming of the sayd Basha, his Janissaries and other of the campe entred into the Towne, which was on Christmas day, within the time given to us, and then the Turkes word was broken, if it were his will or not, I cannot tell. Neverthelesse there was no sword drawen, and in that respect promise was kept. But they made pillage, and entered by force into the houses of the castle, and tooke all that they might and would. After that they had ransacked the houses, they entered into the churches, and pilled all that they found, and brake the images. And there was no crucifix, nor figure of our lady, nor of other saints, that were left whole. Then with great inhumanitie they went into the hospitall of poore and sicke folke, called the Fermorie, and tooke all the silver vessell that the sicke folke were served with, and raised them out of their beds, and drove them away, some with great strokes and staves, and some were cast downe from the galleries. When these hounds had done that acte, they went to the church of saint John and tooke downe the tombes of the great masters, and sought if there were any treasure hid in them, and they forced certaine women and maidens. And all they that were christened and had

bene Turkes afore, were they men, women or children, and children that the sayd men had made christians, they led into Turkie, which thing is of greater importance then any of the other. The morrow after Christmas day, the reverend lord great master went to the great Turkes pavillion for to visite him, and to be better assured of his promise, the which lord he made to be wel & graciously received. And he signified unto him by his interpreter, that the case so happened to him was a thing usuall and common; as to loose townes and lordships, and that hee should not take overmuch thought for it: and as for his promise, he bade that he should not doubt in any thing, and that he should not feare any displeasure to his person, and that he should goe with his people without feare. With these wordes the sayd lord thanked him, and tooke his leave and departed.

FINIS.

Lenvoy of the Translator.

GOe little booke, and woefull Tragedie,
Of the Rhodian feareful oppugnation,
To all estates complaining ruthfully
Of thine estate, and sudden transmutation:
Excusing me if in thy translation
Ought be amisse in language or in werke,
I me submit with their supportation,
To be correct, that am so small a clerke.

An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the emperor Charles the 5. unto king Henry the 8. in the yere 1527. desiring his aide against Solyman the great Turke. Holinshed. pag. 894.

N the 14. day of March, 1527. were conveied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca, earle of Ottonburge, John Burgrave of Sylverberge, and John Faber a famous clerke, after bishop of Vien, as ambassadours from Don Ferdinando, brother to Charles the emperor, newly elect king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was slaine by Solyman the Turke the last Sommer. This company was welcommed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present; and there after great reverence made, M. Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground out of the Gospell, Exiit seminator seminare semen suum: and of that hee declared how Christ and his disciples went foorth to sowe, and how their seed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought foorth good fruite, which was the Christian faith. And then he declared how contrary to that sowing, Mahomet had sowen seed, which brought foorth evill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes have increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued even to that day. He declared further what actes the great Turke then living had done; and in especiall, he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he [II. i. 96.] sayd) of all the kings christened. Hee set foorth also what power the Turke had, what diversities of companies, what capitaines he had, so that he thought, that without

a marveilous great number of people, hee could not be overthrowen. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king as S. Georges knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godly warre and vertuous purpose.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore answered; that much hee lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betweene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not have enterprised that acte: wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an unitie and peace throughout all Christendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be readie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well cherished, and divers times resorted to the court, and had great cheere and good rewards, and so the third day of May next following, they tooke their leave & departed homeward.

He meaneth the Emperor & the French king.

The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Levant.

IN the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. divers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunson, and the master one John Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was master Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and usuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kersies of divers colours, course Kersies, white Westerne dozens, Cottons,

certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calveskins which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and some other spices, &c. Besides, the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, even in those dayes, traffique with Jewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliasses, Spanish and Portugale ships. All which particulars doe most evidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of master John Gresham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt have diligently perused and copied out. And here for authorities sake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of king Henry the eight, unto Don John the third, king of Portugale.

A letter of the king of England Henry the eight, to John king of Portugale, for a Portingale ship with the goods of John Gresham and Wil. Locke with others, unladen in Portugale from Chio.

SErenissimo Principi, domino Joanni Dei gratia Regi Portugalliæ, & Algarbiorum citra & ultra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquistæ, navigationis, & commercii Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atque Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico nostro charissimo.

Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, fidei defensor, ac dominus Hiberniæ, Serenissimo Principi;

domino Joanni eadem gratia Regi Portugalliæ, & Algarbiorum citra & ultra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquistæ navigationis, & commercii Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atque Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico nostro charissimo, salutem. Tanto libentiùs, promptiúsque justas omnes causas vestræ Serenitati commendandas suscipimus, quanto apertiori indiès nostrorum, qui in ejusdem vestræ Serenitatis regno ac ditione negotiantur, subditorum testimonio cognoscimus, ipsam ex optimi principis officio ita accuratè, exactéque jus suum cuíque præbere, ut ad eam nemo justitiæ consequendæ gratia frustrà unquam confugiat. Cúm itaque dilectus ac fidelis subditus noster Joannes Gresham mercator Londoniensis nuper nobis humiliter exposuerit, quod quidam Willielmus Heith ipsius Factor, & negotiorum gestor navim quandam Portugallensem, cui nomen erat Sancto
[II. i. 97.] Antonio, præerátque Diego Peres Portugallensis superioribus mensibus in Candia conduxerit, cum navísque præfecto convenerit, ut in insulam Chium ad quasdam diversi generis merces onerandas primò navigaret, in Candiámque mox aliarum mercium onerandarum gratia rediret, omnes quidem in hoc nostrum regnum postmodùm advecturus ad valorem circiter duodecim millium ducatorum, quemadmodum ex pactionis, conventionísque instrumento apertiùs constat, accidit, ut præfatus Diego vestræ Serenitatis subditus, dictis susceptis mercibus, & jam in itinere parùm fidelitèr, & longè præter initas conventiones, gravissimo certe nostrorum subditorum detrimento, ubi in Portugalliæ portum divertisset, sententia huc navigandi mutata, in eodem portu commoretur, nostrorúmque etiam subditorum merces detineat: quam injuriam (quum subditis nostris in vestræ Serenitatis regno, & ab ejus subdito illata sit) ex æquitate, ac justitia ab ipsa corrigi, emendaríque confidimus, nostro quoque potissimùm intuitu, qui vestræ Serenitatis ipsiúsque subditorum causas, mercésque, si quando in hoc nostrum regnum appulerint, semper commendatissimas habemus, id quod superiori anno testati sumus: proinde ipsam

vehementer rogamus, ut Joannem Ratliffe præsentium latorem, & dicti Johannis Gresham novum constitutum procuratorem, hujus rei causa istuc venientem, velit in suis agendis, in dictísque bonis recuperandis, impunéque asportandis remittendísque vectigalibus (quod nos in vestros subditos fecimus) quum per navis præfectum fraude, ac dolo istuc merces fuerint advectæ, nisi istic vendantur, ac toto denique ex æquitate conficiendo negotio, sic commendatum suscipere, sicque ad suos, quos opus fore intellexerit magistratus missis literis rem omnem juvare, & expedire, ut perspiciamus ex hac nostra commendatione fuisse nostrorum subditorum juri, & indemnitati quàm maximè consultum. Quod nobis gratissimum est futurum, & in re consimili, aut graviori vestra Serenitas nos sibi gratificandi cupidissimos experietur, quæ fœliciter valeat. Ex Regia nostra de Waltham, Die 15. Octobr. 1531.

The same in English.

TO the high and mighty prince, John by the grace of God, king of Portugale, and of Algarve on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and traffique of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deere and welbeloved brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland: to John by the same grace, king of Portugale and Algarve, on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and traffique of Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deare and welbeloved brother, sendeth greeting. So much ye more willingly and readily we undertake the recommending of all just causes unto your highnesse, because by the daily testimonie of our subjects which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we are informed, that according to the dutie of a most worthy prince, so carefully and exactly you minister justice unto every man, that all men

most willingly repaire unto your highnesse, with full trust to obtaine the same. Whereas therefore our welbeloved and trustie subject John Gresham merchant of London, of late in humble maner hath signified unto us, that one William Heith his Factor and Agent, certaine moneths agoe had hired in Candie a certaine Portugale ship called Santo Antonio, (the patrone whereof is Diego Perez) and covenaunted with the patrone of the sayd ship, that he should first saile to the Isle of Sio, to take in merchandize of sundry sortes, & then eftsoones returne to Candie, to be fraighted with other goods, all which he was to bring into our kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as by their billes of covenant & agreement more plainly appeareth : it so fel out, that ye aforesaid Diego your highnes subject having received the said goods, very trecherously & much contrary to his covenant, to the exceeding great losse of our subjects, putting in by the way into an haven of Portugale, & altering his purpose of comming into England, he remaineth still in that haven, & likewise detaineth our subjects goods. Which injury (seeing it is done in your Highnes kingdome) we hope your Highnes will see reformed according to equity & right, the rather at our request, which alwayes have had a speciall care of the causes & goods of your Highnes, & of your subjects whensoever they come into our kingdome, wherof we made proofe the last yeere. Wherefore we instantly request your Highnes, y^{t} you would so receive John Ratcliffe the bearer of these present letters, & the new appointed agent of John Gresham, which cummeth into your dominions about this busines, being thus commended unto you in this busines, & recovering & freely bringing home of the said goods, & in remitting of the customs, unlesse they were sold there (the like whereof we did towards your subjects) seeing by the fraud & deceit of the patron of the ship, the wares were brought thither, & finally in dispatching ye whole matter, according to justice, & so further the same by directing

your highnes letters to your officers whom it may concerne, that we may perceive, that our subjects right and liberty hath especially beene maintained upon this our commendation. Which we will take in most thankfull part, and your highnes shal find us in the like or a greater matter most ready to gratifie you, whom we wish most heartily well to fare. From our Court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

A voyage made with the shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, to the Iles of Candia and Chio, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Master Richard Hackluit, by John Williamson, Cooper and citizen of London, who lived in the yere 1592, and went as cooper in the Mathew Gonson the next voyage after.

[II. i. 98.]

The Holy Crosse and the Mathew Gonson depart for Turkie.

THe shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, made a voyage to the Ilandes of Candia and Chio in Turkie, about the yeere 1534. And in the Mathew went as Captaine M. Richard Gonson, sonne of old Master William Gonson, paymaster of the kings navie. In this first voyage went William Holstocke (who afterwards was Controuller of her Majesties Navie, lately deceased) as page to M. Richard Gonson aforesaid, which M. Gonson died in Chio in this his first voyage. The ship called the Holy Crosse was a short shippe, and of burden 160 tunnes. And having beene a full yeere at the sea in performance of this voyage, with great danger she returned home, where, upon her arrivall at Blackwall, in the river of Thames, her wine and oyle caske was found so weake, that they were not able to hoyse them out of the ship, but were constrayned to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new vessels, and so to unlade the shippe. Their chiefe fraight,

was very excellent Muscatels and red Malmesie, the like whereof were seeldome seene before in England. They brought home also good quantitie of sweete oyles, cotton woolles, Turkie Carpets, Galles, Cynamon, and some other spices. The saide shippe called the Holy Crosse was so shaken in this voyage, and so weakened, that she was layd up in the docke, and never made voyage after.

Another voyage to the Iles of Candia and Chio made by the shippe the Mathew Gonson, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of John Williamson, then Cooper in the same ship, made to M. Richard Hackluit in the yeere 1592.

The Mathew Gonson goeth into Turkie.

THe good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, of burden 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old M. William Gonson, paymaster of the kings Navie, made her voyage in the yere 1535. In this ship went as Captaine Richard Gray, who long after died in Russia. Master William Holstocke afterward Controuller of the Queenes Navie went then as purser in the same voyage. The Master was one John Pichet, servant to old M. William Gonson, James Rumnie was Masters mate. The master cooper was John Williamson citizen of London, living in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in Sant Dunstons parish in the East. The M. Gunner was John Godfrey of Bristoll. In this ship were 6 gunners and 4 trumpetters, all which foure trumpetters at our returne homewards went on land at Messina in the Iland of Sicilia, as our ship road there at anker, & gat them into the Gallies that lay neere unto us, & in them went to Rome. The whole number of our companie in this ship were about 100. men, we were also furnished with a great bote, which was able to cary 10 tunnes of water, which at our returne homewards we towed all the way from Chio

A.D. 1538.

untill we came through the straight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean. We had also a great long boat and a skiff. We were out upon this voyage eleven moneths, yet in all this time there died of sicknesse but one man, whose name was George Forrest, being servant to our Carpenter called Thomas Plummer.

In a great lygier booke of one William Eyms, servant unto Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, bearing date the 15 of November 1533, and continued untill the 4 of July 1544. I find that he the said William Eyms was factor in Chio, not only for his Master, but also for the duke of Norfolkes grace, & for many other worshipful marchants of London, among whom I find the accompts of these especially, to wit, of his said Master, sir William Bowyer, of William & Nicholas Wilford Marchant-taylors of London, of Thomas Curtis pewterer, of John Starky Mercer, of William Ostrige Marchant, & of Richard Field Draper. And further I find in the said ligier booke, a note of the said Eyms, of all such goods as he left in the hands of Robert Bye in Chio, who became his Masters factor in his roome, and another like note of particulers of goods that he left in the hands of Oliver Lesson, servant to William and Nicholas Wilford. And for proofe of the continuance of this trade untill the end of the yeere 1552. I found annexed unto the former note of the goods left with Robert Bye in Chio, a letter being dated the 27 of November 1552 in London.

The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read in the south Ile of Saint Peters Church in the citie of Norwich, which was knighted by Charles the fift at the winning of Tunis in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

[II. i. 99.]

HEre under lyeth the corpes of Peter Reade Esquire, who hath worthily served, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but also the Emperour Charles the fift,

both at his conquest of Barbarie, and at his siege at Tunis, as also in other places. Who had given him by the sayd Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Chaloner to Alger with Charles the fift 1541, drawen out of his booke De Republica Anglorum instauranda.

THomas Chalonerus patria Londinensis, studio Cantabrigensis, educatione aulicus, religione pius, veréque Christianus fuit. Itaque cum juvenilem ætatem, mentemque suam humanioribus studiis roborasset, Domino Henrico Knevetto à potentissimo rege Henrico ejus nominis octavo ad Carolum quintum imperatorem transmisso legato, unà cum illo profectus est, tanquam familiaris amicus, vel eidem à consiliis. Quo quidem tempore Carolo quinto navali certamine à Genua & Corsica in Algyram in Africa contra Turcas classem solvente ac hostiliter proficiscente, ornatissimo illo Knevetto legato regis, Thoma Chalonero, Henrico Knolleo, & Henrico Isamo, illustribus viris eundem in illa expeditione suapte sponte sequentibus, pariterque militantibus, mirifice vitam suam Chalonerus tutatus est. Nam triremi illa, in qua fuerat, vel scopulis allisa, vel gravissimis procellis conquassata, naufragus cum se diù natatu defendisset, deficientibus viribus, brachiis manibusque languidis ac quasi enervatis, prehensa dentibus cum maxima difficultate rudenti, quæ ex altera triremi jam propinqua tum fuerat ejecta, non sine dentium aliquorum jactura ac fractura sese tandem recuperavit, ac domum integer relapsus est.

The same in English.

THomas Chaloner was by birth a Londiner, by studie a Cantabrigian, by education a Courtier, by religion a devout and true Christian. Therfore after he had

confirmed his youth and minde in the studies of good learning, when Sir Henry Knevet was sent ambassadour from the mighty Prince Henry the 8. to the Emperour Charles the fift, he went with him as his familiar friend, or as one of his Councell. At which time the said Charles the 5. passing over from Genoa and Corsica to Alger in Africa in warlike sort, with a mighty army by sea, that honorable Knevet the kings ambassadour, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Knolles, and Henry Isham, right worthy persons, of their owne accord accompanied him in that expedition, & served him in that warre, wherin Thomas Chaloner escaped most wonderfully with his life. For the gally wherein he was, being either dashed against the rockes, or shaken with mighty stormes, and so cast away, after he had saved himselfe a long while by swimming, when his strength failed him, his armes & hands being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was cast out of the next gally, not without breaking and losse of certaine of his teeth, at length recovered himselfe, and returned home into his countrey in safety.

The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham with the great Barke Aucher to Candia and Chio, in the yeere 1550.

IN the yeere 1550. the 13 of November I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the said ship at Gravesend, for my voiage to the Ilands of Candia and Chio in the Levant. The master of my ship was one William Sherwood. From thence we departed to Tilbery hope, and there remained with contrarie windes untill the 6. of January 1551. The 6 of Januarie, the M. came to Tilbery, and I had provided a skilfull pylot to cary me over the lands end, whose name was M. Wood, and with all speede I valed downe that night

The Barke Aucher goeth for Levant.

10 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to Dover, and there came to an anker, and there remained untill tuesday, meeting with the worthy knight sir Anthony Aucher owner of the saide ship.

[II. i. 100.] The 11 day we arrived in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we set forward on our voyage with a prosperous winde, and the 16 we had sight of Cape Finister on the coast of Spaine.

The 30 we arrived at Cades, and there discharged certaine marchandise, and tooke others aboord.

The 20 of February we departed from Cades, & passed the straights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25

Mallorca. we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and staied there five daies with contrary windes.

The first of March, we had sight of Sardenna, and the

Messina. fift of the said month wee arrived at Messina in Sicilia, and there discharged much goods, and remained there untill good Fryday in Lent.

The chiefe marchant that laded the sayd Barke Aucher was a marchant stranger called Anselm Salvago, and because the time was then very dangerous, and no going into Levant, especially to Chio, without a safe conduct from the Turke, the said Anselm promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, that we should receive the same at Messina. But I was posted from thence to Candia, and there I was answered that I should send to Chio, and there I should have my safe conduct. I was forced to send one, and hee had his answere that the Turke would give none, willing me to looke what was best for me to doe, which was no small trouble to me, considering I was bound to deliver the goods that were in the ship at Chio, or send them at mine adventure. The marchants without care of the losse of the ship would have compelled me to goe, or send their goods at mine

The Turke prepareth an army to besiege Malta. adventure, the which I denied, and sayd plainely I would not goe, because the Turkes gallies were come forth to goe against Malta, but by the French kings means, he

was perswaded to leave Malta, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he wan. In this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes vessels called Skyrasas, which had brought wheat thither to sell, and were ready to depart for Turkie. And they departed in the morning be times, carying newes that I would not goe foorth: the same night I prepared beforehande what I thought good, without making any man privie, untill I sawe time. Then I had no small businesse to cause my mariners to venture with the ship in such a manifest danger. Neverthelesse I wan them to goe all with me, except three which I set on land, and with all diligence I was readie to set foorth about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone shine night, & went out. Then my 3 marriners made such requests unto the rest of my men to come aborde, as I was constrained to take them in. And so with good wind we put into the Archipelago, & being among the Ilands the winde scanted, & I was forced to anker at an Iland called Micone, where I taried 10 or 12 daies, having a greeke Pilot to carrie the ship to Chio. In this meane season, there came many small botes with mysson sayles to goe for Chio, with diverse goods to sell, & the Pilot requested me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I yeelded. After the sayde dayes expired, I wayed & set saile for the Iland of Chio, with which place I fel in the after noone, whereupon I cast to seaward againe to come with the Iland in the morning betimes. The foresaid smal vessels which came in my company, departed from me to win the shore, to get in ye night, but upon a sudden they espied 3 foystes of Turkes comming upon them to spoyle them. My Pilot, having a sonne in one of those small vessels, entreted me to cast about towards them, which at his request I did, and being some thing farre from them, I caused my Gunner to shoot a demy-colvering at a foyst that was readie to enter one of the botes. This was so happy a shott, that it made the Turke to fall a sterne of the bote and to leave him,

The Barke Aucher at Micone.

by the which meanes hee escaped. Then they all came to me, and requested that they might hang at my sterne untill day light, by which time I came before the Mole of Chio, and sent my bote on land to the marchants of that place to send for their goods out of hand, or else I would returne back with all to Candia, & they should fetch their goods there. But in fine, what by perswasion of my merchants English men, & those of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour, and had a safe assurance for 20 dayes against the Turkes army, with a bond of the citie in the summe of 12000 ducats. So I made hast & solde such goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, & put all in order, with as much speede as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes navie, of the which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So upon the sudden they called me of great friendship, & in secret told me, I had no way to save my selfe but to be gone, for said they, we be not able to defend you, that are not able to help our selves, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh what he will, & leaveth what he list, but the chiefe of the Turkes set order y^t^ none shal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was such news to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, & was brought into many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I determined to goe foorth. But the marchants English men and other regarding more their gaines then the ship, hindered me very much in my purpose of going foorth, and made the marriners to come to me to demaund their wages to be payed them out of hande, and to have a time to employ the same there. But God provided so for me, that I paied them their money that night, and then charged them, that if they would not set the ship foorth, I would make them to answere the same in England, with danger of their heads. Many were married in England and had somewhat to loose, those did sticke to me. I had twelve gunners: the Master gunner who was a madde brayned fellow, and the owners servant had

The towne of Chio is bound in 12000 *ducats for the safegard of the Barke Aucher.*

[II. i. 101.] *The companie doe murmure against their Captaine.*

a parlament betweene themselves, and he upon the same came up to me with his sword drawen, swearing that hee had promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to live and die in the sayde shippe against all that should offer any harme to the shippe, and that he would fight with the whole armie of the Turkes, and never yeelde: with this fellow I had much to doe, but at the last I made him confesse his fault and followe mine advise. Thus with much labour I gat out of the Mole of Chio, into the sea by warping foorth, with the helpe of Genoueses botes, and a French bote that was in the Mole, and being out God sent mee a speciall gale of winde to goe my way. Then I caused a peece to be shotte off for some of my men that were yet in the towne, & with much a doe they came aboord, and then I set sayle a little before one of the clocke, and I made all the sayle I could, and about halfe an houre past two of the clocke there came seven gallies into Chio to stay the shippe: and the admirall of them was in a great rage because she was gone. Whereupon they put some of the best in prison, and tooke all the men of the three ships which I left in the port, and put them into the Gallies. They would have followed after mee, but that the townes men found meanes they did not. The next day came thither a hundred more of Gallies, and there taried for their whole companie, which being together were about two hundred & 50 sayle, taking their voyage for to surprise the Iland of Malta. The next day after I departed, I had the sight of Candia, but I was two dayes after or ever I could get in, where I thought my selfe out of their daunger. There I continued untill the Turkes armie was past, who came within the sight of the towne. There was preparation made as though the Turks had come thither. There be in that Iland of Candia many banished men, that live continually in the mountaines, they came downe to serve, to the number of foure or five thousand, they are good archers, every one with his bowe and arrowes, a sword and a dagger, with long haire,

The Turkes Gallies come to seeke the Barke Aucher.

Five thousand banished men in Candia.

and bootes that reach up to their grine, and a shirt of male, hanging the one halfe before, and the other halfe behinde, these were sent away againe assoone as the armie was past. They would drinke wine out of all measure. Then the armie being past, I laded my shippe with wines and other things: and so after I had that which I left in Chio, I departed for Messina. In the way I found about Zante, certaine Galliots of Turkes, laying abord of certaine vessels of Venice laden with Muscatels: I rescued them, and had but a barrell of wine for my powder and shot: and within a few dayes after I came to Messina. I had in my shippe a Spanish pilot called Noblezia, which I tooke in at Cades at my comming foorth: he went with me all this voyage into the Levant without wages, of good will that he bare me and the shippe, he stoode me in good steede untill I came backe againe to Cades, and then I needed no Pilot. And so from thence I came to London with the shippe and goods in safetie, God be praysed. And all those Mariners that were in my sayd shippe, which were, besides boyes, threescore and tenne, for the most part were within five or sixe yeeres after, able to take charge, and did. Richard Chanceller, who first discovered Russia, was with me in that voyage, and Mathew Baker, who afterward became the Queenes Majesties chiefe ship-wright.

Master Richard Chancellour.

Master Mathew Baker.

The voyage of M. John Locke to Jerusalem.

IN my voyage to Jerusalem, I imbarked my selfe the 26 of March 1553 in the good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, which was bound for Livorno, or Legorne and Candia. It fell out that we touched in the beginning of Aprill next ensuing at Cades in Andalozia, where the Spaniardes, according to their accustomed maner with all shippes of extraordinarie goodnes and burden, picked a quarrell against the company, meaning to have forfeited, or at the least to have arrested the said shippe. And they

A.D. 1553.

grew so malicious in their wrongfull purpose, that I being utterly out of hope of any speedie release, to the ende that my intention should not be overthrowen, was inforced to take this course following. Notwithstanding this hard beginning, it fell out so luckily, that I found in the roade a great shippe called the Cavalla of Venice, wherin after agreement made with the patron, I shipped my selfe the 24. of May in the said yere 1553, and the 25 by reason of the winde blowing hard and contrary, we were not able to enter the straits of Gibraltar, but were put to the coast of Barbarie, where we ankered in the maine sea 2. leagues from shore, and continued so untill two houres before sunne set, and then we weighed againe, and turned our course towards the Straits, where we entered the 26 day aforesayd, the winde being very calme, [II. i. 102.] but the current of the straites very favourable. The same day the winde beganne to rise somewhat, and blew a furthering gale, and so continued at Northwest untill we arrived at Legorne the third of June. And from thence riding over land unto Venice, I prepared for my voyage to Jerusalem in the Pilgrimes shippe.

I John Locke, accompanied with Maister Anthony Rastwold, with divers other, Hollanders, Zelanders, Almaines and French pilgrimes entered the good shippe called Fila Cavena of Venice, the 16 of July 1553. and the 17 in the morning we weighed our anker and sayled towardes the coast of Istria, to the port of Rovigno, and the said day there came aboard of our ship the Percevena of the shippe named Tamisari, for to receive the rest of all the pilgrimes money, which was in all after the rate of 55. Crownes for every man for that voyage, after the rate of five shillings starling to the crowne: This done, he returned to Venice.

The ship Fila Cavena departeth for Jerusalem.

Rovignio a port in Istria.

The 19 day we tooke fresh victuals aboard, and with the bote that brought the fresh provision we went on land to the Towne, and went to see the Church of Sancta Eufemia, where we sawe the bodie of the sayd Saint.

Sancta Eufemia.

Monte de Ancona. The 20 day wee departed from Rovignio, and about noone we had sight of Monte de Ancona, and the hilles of Dalmatia, or else of Sclavonia both at one time, and by report they are 100. miles distant from ech other, and more.

The 21 we sayled still in sight of Dalmatia, and a litle before noone, we had sight of a rocke in the midst of the *Il pomo.* sea, called in Italian, il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in shape like a sugarloafe. Also we sawe another *Sant Andrea.* rocke about two miles compasse called Sant Andrea: on this rocke is onely one Monasterie of Friers: we sayled betweene them both, and left S. Andrea on the left hand of us, and we had also kenning of another Iland *Lissa an Iland.* called Lissa, all on the left hande, these three Ilands lie East and West in the sea, and at sunne setting we had passed them. Il pomo is distant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, and S. Andrea from Lissa 10 miles, and Lissa from *Lezina Iland.* another Iland called Lezina, which standeth betweene the maine of Dalmatia and Lissa, tenne miles. This Iland is inhabited, and hath great plentie of wine and frutes and hereagainst we were becalmed.

The 22 we had sight of another small Iland called *Catza.* Catza, which is desolate and on the left hand, and on *Pelagosa.* the right hand, a very dangerous Iland called Pelagosa, this is also desolate, and lyeth in the midst of the sea betweene both the maines: it is very dangerous and low land, and it hath a long ledge of rockes lying out sixe miles in to the sea, so that many ships by night are cast away upon them. There is betweene Catza and Pelagosa 30 miles, and these two Ilands are distant from Venice 400 miles. There is also about twelve miles *Augusta.* eastward, a great Iland called Augusta, about 14 miles in length, somewhat hillie, but well inhabited, and fruitfull of vines, corne and other fruit, this also we left on the left hand: & we have hitherto kept our course from Rovignio East southeast. This Iland is under the Signiorie or governement of Ragusa, it is distant from Ragusa 50 miles, and there is by that Iland a greater,

named Meleda, which is also under the governement of Ragusa, it is about 30 miles in length, and inhabited, and hath good portes, it lyeth by East from Augusta, and over against this Iland lyeth a hill called Monte S. Angelo, upon the coast of Puglia in Italy, and we had sight of both landes at one time. *Meleda.* *Monte Sant Angelo.*

The 23 we sayled all the day long by the bowline alongst the coast of Ragusa, and towardes night we were within 7 or 8 miles of Ragusa, that we might see the white walles, but because it was night, we cast about to the sea, minding at the second watch, to beare it againe to Ragusa, for to know the newes of the Turkes armie, but the winde blew so hard and contrary, that we could not. This citie of Ragusa paieth tribute to the Turke yerely fourteene thousand Sechinos, and every Sechino is of venetian money eight livers and two soldes, besides other presents which they give to the Turkes Bassas when they come thither. The Venetians have a rocke or cragge within a mile of the said towne, for the which the Raguseos would give them much money, but they doe keepe it more for the namesake, then for profite. This rocke lieth on the Southside of the towne, and is called Il cromo, there is nothing on it but onely a Monasterie called Sant Jeronimo. The maine of the Turkes countrie is bordering on it within one mile, for the which cause they are in great subjection. This night wee were put backe by contrarie windes, and ankered at Melleda. *Ragusa paieth 14000. Sechinos to the Turke yerely.* *Il Cromo.*

The 24 being at an anker under Melleda, we would have gone on land, but the winde came so faire that we presently set sayle and went our course, and left on the right hand of us the forenamed Iland, and on the left hand betweene us and the maine the Iland of Zupanna, and within a mile of that under the maine by East, another Iland called Isola de Mezo. This Iland hath two Monasteries in it, one called Santa Maria de Bizo, and the other Sant Nicholo. Also there is a third rocke with a Frierie called Sant Andrea : these Ilands are *Zupanna.* *Isola de Mezo.* *Sant Andrea.*

[II. i. 103.] from the maine but two miles, and the channell betweene Melleda and Zupanna is but foure or five miles over by gesse, but very deepe, for we had at an anker fortie fathoms. The two Ilands of Zupanna and Mezo are well inhabited, and very faire buildings, but nothing plentie save wine onely. This night toward sunne set it waxed calme, and we sayled little or nothing.

The 24 we were past Ragusa 14 miles, and there we mette with two Venetian ships, which came from Cyprus, we thought they would have spoken with us, for we were desirous to talke with them, to knowe the newes of the Turkes armie, and to have sent some letters by them to Venice. About noone, we had scant sight of Castel novo, which Castell a fewe yeeres past the Turke tooke from the Emperour, in which fight were slaine three hundred Spanish souldiers, besides the rest which were taken prisoners, and made gallie slaves. This Castell is hard at the mouth of a channell called Boca de Cataro. The Venetians have a hold within the channell called Cataro, this channell goeth up to Budoa, and further up into the countrey. About sunneset we were over against the hilles of Antiveri in Sclavonia, in the which hilles the Venetians have a towne called Antiveri, and the Turkes have another against it called Marchevetti, the which two townes continually skirmish together with much slaughter. At the end of these hils endeth the Countrey of Sclavonia, and Albania beginneth. These hilles are thirtie miles distant from Ragusa.

Castle novo.

Boca de Cataro.
The towne Cataro.
Budoa.
Antiveri.
Marchevetti.
The end of Sclavonia and the beginning of Albania.

The 27 we kept our course towards Puglia, and left Albania on the left hand. The 28. we had sight of both the maines, but we were neerer the coast of Puglia, for feare of Foystes. It is betweene Cape Chimera in Albania and Cape otranto in Puglia 60 miles. Puglia is a plaine low lande, and Chimera in Albania is very high land, so that it is seene the further. Thus sayling our course along the coast of Puglia, we saw diverse white Towers, which serve for sea-markes. About three of the clocke in the after noone, we had sight of a rocke called Il fano, 48

Puglia.
Cape Chimera.
Cape Otranto.

Il fano.

miles from Corfu, and by sunne set we discovered Corfu. *Corfu.* Thus we kept on our course with a prosperous winde, and made our way after twelve mile every houre. Most part of this way we were accompanied with certaine fishes called in the Italian tongue Palomide, it is a fish three *Palomide.* quarters of a yard in length, in colour, eating, and making like a Makarell, somewhat bigge and thick in body, and the tayle forked like a halfe moone, for the which cause it is said that the Turke will not suffer them to be taken in all his dominions.

The 29 in the morning we were in sight of an Iland, which we left on our left hande called Cephalonia, it is *Cephalonia* under the Venetians and well inhabited, with a faire towne strongly situated on a hill, of the which hill the Iland beareth her name, it hath also a very strong fortresse or Castle, and plentie of corne and wine, their language is Greeke, it is distant from the maine of Morea, thirtie *Morea.* miles, it is in compasse 80 miles. One houre within night we sayled by the towne standing on the South cape of Cephalonia, whereby we might perceive their lights. There come oftentimes into the creekes and rivers, the Turkes foystes and gallies where at their arrivall, the Countrey people doe signifie unto their neighbours by so many lights, as there are foistes or gallies in the Iland, and thus they doe from one to another the whole Iland over. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde scanted, and wee minded to have gone to Zante, *Zante.* but we could not for that night. This Iland of Zante is distant from Cephalonia, 12 or 14 miles, but the towne of Cephalonia, from the towne of Zante, is distant fortie miles. This night we went but little forward.

The 30 day we remained still turning up and downe because the winde was contrary, and towards night the winde mended, so that we entered the channell betweene Cephalonia, & Zante, the which chanell is about eight or tenne miles over, and these two beare East and by South, and West and by North from the other. The towne of Zante lieth within a point of the land,

where we came to an anker, at nine of the clocke at night.

John Locke, and five Hollanders goe on land.

The 31 about sixe of the clocke in the morning, I with five Hollanders went on land, and hosted at the house of Pedro de Venetia. After breakfast we went to see the towne, and passing along we went into some of the Greeke churches, wherein we sawe their Altares, Images, and other ornaments. This done, wee went to a Monasterie of Friers called Sancta Maria de la Croce, these are westerne Christians, for the Greekes have nothing to doe with them, nor they with the Greekes, for they differ very much in religion. There are but 2. Friers in this Friery. In this Monasterie we saw the tombe that M. T. Cicero, was buried in, with Terentia Antonia, his wife. This tombe was founde about sixe yeeres since, when the Monastery was built, there was in time past a streete where the tombe stoode. At the finding of the tombe there was also found a yard under ground, a square stone somewhat longer than broad, upon which stone was found a writing of two severall handes writing, the one as it seemed, for himselfe, and the other for his wife, and under the same stone was found a glasse somewhat proportioned like an urinall, but that it was eight square and very thicke, wherein were the ashes of the head and right arme of Mar. T. Cicero, for as stories make mention he was beheaded as I remember at Capua, for insurrection. And his wife having got his head and right arme, (which was brought to Rome to the Emperour) went from Rome, and came to Zante, and there buried his head and arme, and wrote upon his tombe this style M. T. Cicero. * Have. Then followeth in other letters, Et tu Terentia Antonia, which difference of letters declare that they were not written both at one time. The tombe is long and narrowe, and deepe, walled on every side like a grave, in the botome whereof was found the sayd stone with the writing on it, & the said glasse of ashes, and also another litle glasse of the same proportion, wherein, as they say, are

Santa Maria de la Croce.

The tombe of M. T. Cicero.

[II. i. 104.]

* *Or, Ave.*

The description of the tombe.

the teares of his friendes, that in those dayes they did use to gather and bury with them, as they did use in Italy and Spaine to teare their haire, to bury with their friendes. In the sayde tombe were a fewe bones. After dinner we rested untill it drew towards evening by reason of the heat. And about foure of the clocke we walked to another Frierie a mile out of the towne called Sant Elia, these are white Friers, there were two, but one is dead, not sixe dayes since. This Frierie hath a garden very pleasant, and well furnished with Orenges, Lemons, pomegranates, and divers other good fruites. The way to it is somewhat ragged, up hill and downe, and very stonie, and in winter very durtie. It standeth very plesantly in a clift betweene two hilles, with a good prospect. From thence we ascended the hill to the Castle, which is situated on the very toppe of a hill. This Castle is very strong, in compasse a large mile and a halfe, which being victualed, (as it is never unfurnished) and manned with men of trust, it may defend it selfe against any Princes power. This Castle taketh the just compasse of the hill, and no other hill neere it, it is so steepe downe, and so high and ragged, that it will tyre any man or ever he be halfe way up. Very nature hath fortified the walles and bulwarkes: It is by nature foure square, and it commandeth the towne and porte. The Venetians have alwayes their Podesta, or Governour, with his two Counsellours resident therein. The towne is well inhabited, & hath great quantitie of housholders. The Iland by report is threescore and tenne miles about, it is able to make twentie thousand fighting men. They say they have alwayes five or sixe hundred horsemen readie at an houres warning. They say the Turke hath assayed it with 100. Gallies, but he could never bring his purpose to passe. It is strange to mee how they should maintaine so many men in this Iland, for their best sustenance is wine, and the rest but miserable.

Sant Elia, but one Frier.

The description of the Castle of Zante.

The Turke hath attempted the Iland of Zante.

The first of August we were warned aboord by the

patron, and towards evening we set sayle, and had sight of a Castle called Torneste, which is the Turkes, and is ten miles from Zante, it did belong to the Venetians, but they have now lost it, it standeth also on a hill on the sea side in Morea. All that night we bare into the sea, because we had newes at Zante of twelve of the Turkes gallies, that came from Rhodes, which were about Modon, Coron, and Candia, for which cause we kept at the sea.

The Castle of Torneste.

Twelve turks gallies at Modon and Coron, and Candia.

The second of August we had no sight of land, but kept our course, and about the third watch the winde scanted, so that we bare with the shore, and had sight of Modon and Coron.

Modon.
Coron.

The third we had sight of Cavo Mattapan, and all that day by reason of contrary windes, which blew somewhat hard, we lay a hull untill morning.

Cavo Mattapan.

The fourth we were still under the sayd Cape, and so continued that day, and towardes night there grewe a contention in the ship amongst the Hollanders, and it had like to have bene a great inconvenience, for we had all our weapons, yea even our knives taken from us that night.

The fift, we sayled by the Bowline, and out of the toppe we had sight of the Iland of Candia, and towardes noone we might see it plaine, and towards night the winde waxed calme.

Candia.

The sixt toward the breake of day we saw two small Ilands called Gozi, and towards noone we were betweene them: the one of these Ilands is fifteene miles about, and the other 10 miles. In those Ilands are nourished store of cattell for butter and cheese. There are to the number of fiftie or sixtie inhabitants, which are Greeks, and they live chiefly on milke and cheese. The Iland of Candia is 700 miles about, it is in length, from Cape Spada, to Cape Salomon, 300 miles, it is as they say, able to make one hundred thousand fighting men. We sayled betweene the Gozi, and Candia, and they are distant from Candia 5 or 6 miles. The Candiots are strong

Gozi.

Candia.
Cape Spada.
C. Salomon.

men, and very good archers, and shoot neere the marke. This Ilande is from Zante 300 miles.

The seventh we sayled all along the sayd Iland with little winde and unstable, and the eight day towards night we drew to the East end of the Iland.

The 9 and 10 we sayled along with a prosperous winde and saw no land.

The 11 in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of Cyprus, and towards noone we were thwart the Cape called Ponta Malota, and about foure of the clocke we were as farre as Baffo, and about sunne set we passed Cavo Bianco, and towards nine of the clocke at night we doubled Cavo de la gatte, and ankered afore Limisso, but the wind blew so hard, that we could not come neere the towne, neither durst any man goe on land. The towne is from Cavo de le gatte twelve miles distant.

Ponta, Malota. Baffo. Cavo Bianco. [II. i. 105.] *Cavo de la gatte.*

The 12. of August in the morning wee went on land to Limisso: this towne is ruinated and nothing in it worth writing, save onely in the mids of the towne there hath bene a fortresse, which is now decayed, and the wals part overthrowen, which a Turkish Rover with certaine gallies did destroy about 10. or 12. yeeres past. This day walking to see the towne, we chanced to see in the market place, a great quantitie of a certaine vermine called in the Italian tongue Cavalette. It is as I can learne, both in shape and bignesse like a grassehopper, for I can judge but little difference. Of these many yeeres they have had such quantitie y^t^ they destroy all their corne. They are so plagued with them, y^t^ almost every yeere they doe well nie loose halfe their corne, whether it be the nature of the countrey, or the plague of God, that let them judge that best can define. But that there may no default be laied to their negligence for the destruction of them, they have throughout the whole land a constituted order, that every Farmor or husbandman (which are even as slaves bought and sold to their lord) shall every yeere pay according to his territorie, a

Limisso.

Cavalette, is a certaine vermine in the Island of Cyprus.

measure full of the seede or egges of these forenamed Cavalette, the which they are bound to bring to the market, and present to the officer appointed for the same, the which officer taketh of them very straight measure, and writeth the names of the presenters, and putteth the sayd egges or seed, into a house appointed for the same, and having the house full, they beate them to pouder, and cast them into the sea, and by this policie they doe as much as in them lieth for the destruction of them. This vermine breedeth or ingendereth at the time of corne being ripe, and the corne beyng had away, in the clods of the same ground do the husbandmen find ye nestes, or, as I may rather terme them, cases of the egges of the same vermine. Their nests are much like to the keies of a hasel-nut tree, when they be dried, and of the same length, but somewhat bigger, which case being broken you shall see the egges lie much like unto antes egges, but somewhat lesser. Thus much I have written at this time, because I had no more time of knowledge, but I trust at my returne to note more of this island, with the commodities of the same at large.

The pilgrimes going to the Greeke churches.

The 13. day we went in the morning to the Greekes church, to see the order of their ceremonies, & of their communion, of the which to declare the whole order with the number of their ceremonious crossings, it were to long. Wherefore least I should offend any man, I leave it unwritten : but onely that I noted well, that in all their Communion or service, not one did ever kneele, nor yet in any of their Churches could I ever see any graven images, but painted or portrayed. Also they have store of lampes alight, almost for every image one. Their women are alwayes seperated from the men, and generally they are in the lower ende of the Church. This night we went aboord the ship, although the wind were contrary, we did it because the patrone should not find any lacke of us, as sometimes he did : when as tarying upon his owne businesse, he would colour it with the delay of the pilgrimes.

The 14. day in the morning we set saile, and lost sight of the Island of Cyprus, and the 15. day we were likewise at Sea, and sawe no land : and the 16. day towards night, we looked for land, but we sawe none. But because we supposed our selves to be neere our port, we tooke in all our sailes except onely the foresaile and the missen, and so we remained all that night.

The 17. day in the morning, we were by report of the Mariners, some sixe miles from Jaffa, but it prooved contrary. But because we would be sure, wee came to an anker seven miles from the shore, and sent the skiffe with the Pilot and the master gunner, to learne the coast, but they returned, not having seen tree nor house, nor spoken with any man. But when they came to the sea side againe, they went up a little hill standing hard by the brinke, whereon as they thought they sawe the hill of Jerusalem, by the which the Pilot knew (after his judgement) that wee were past our port. And so this place where we rode was, as the mariners sayd, about 50. mile from Jaffa. This coast all alongst is very lowe, plaine, white, sandie, and desert, for which cause it hath fewe markes or none, so that we rode here as it were in a gulfe betweene two Capes.

A great currant.

The 18. day we abode still at anker, looking for a gale to returne backe, but it was contrary : and the 19. we set saile, but the currant having more force then the winde, we were driven backe, insomuch, that the ship being under saile, we cast the sounding lead, & (notwithstanding the wind) it remained before the shippe, there wee had muddie ground at fifteene fadome. The same day about 4. of the clocke, wee set saile againe, and sayled West alongst the coast with a fresh side-winde.

A Cat fallen into the sea and recovered.

It chanced by fortune that the shippes Cat lept into the Sea, which being downe, kept her selfe very valiauntly above water, notwithstanding the great waves, still swimming, the which the master knowing, he caused the Skiffe with halfe a dosen men to goe towards her and fetch her againe, when she was almost halfe a mile

[II. i. 106.] from the shippe, and all this while the shippe lay on staies. I hardly beleeve they would have made such haste and meanes if one of the company had bene in the like perill. They made the more haste because it was the patrons cat. This I have written onely to note the estimation that cats are in, among the Italians, for generally they esteeme their cattes, as in England we esteeme a good Spaniell. The same night about tenne of the clocke the winde calmed, and because none of the shippe knewe where we were, we let fall an anker about 6 mile from the place we were at before, and there wee had muddie ground at twelve fathome.

The 20 it was still calme, and the current so strong still one way, that we were not able to stemme the streame: moreover we knew not where we were, whereupon doubting whither wee were past, or short of our port, the Master, Pilot, and other Officers of the shippe entered into counsell what was best to doe, whereupon they agreed to sende the bote on lande againe, to seeke some man to speake with all, but they returned as wise as they went. Then we set sayle againe and sounded every mile or halfe mile, and found still one depth, so we not knowing where we were, came againe to an anker, seven or eight miles by West from the place we were at. Thus still doubting where we were, the bote went on land againe, and brought newes that wee were short 80 miles of the place, whereas we thought wee had beene overshot by east fiftie miles. Thus in these doubts we lost foure dayes, and never a man in the shippe able to tell where we were, notwithstanding there were diverse in the shippe that had beene there before. Then sayd the Pylot, that at his comming to the shore, by chance he saw two wayfaring men, which were Moores, and he cryed to them in Turkish, insomuch that the Moores, partly for feare, and partly for lacke of understanding, (seeing them to be Christians) beganne to flie, yet in the end with much a doe, they stayed to speake with them, which men when they came together, were not able to understand ech

They met with two Moores on land.

other, but our men made to them the signe of the Crosse on the sande, to give them to understand that they were of the shippe that brought the pilgrims. Then the Moores knowing (as al the country else doth) that it was the use of Christians to go to Jerusalem, shewed them to be yet by west of Jaffa. Thus we remained all that night at anker, and the farther west that we sayled, the lesse water we had.

The 21 we set sayle againe, and kept our course Northeast, but because we would not goe along the shore by night, wee came to an anker in foure and twentie fathome water. Then the next morning being the 22 we set sayle againe, and kept our course as before, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone wee had sight of the two towers of Jaffa, and about five of the clocke, wee were with a rocke, called in the Italian tongue, Scolio di Santo Petro, on the which rocke they say he fished, when Christ bid him cast his net on the right side, and caught so many fishes. This rocke is now almost worne away. It is from Jaffa two or three mile : here before the two towers we came to an anker. Then the pilgrimes after supper, in salutation of the holy lande, sang to the prayse of God, Te Deum laudamus, with Magnificat, and Benedictus, but in the shippe was a Frier of Santo Francisco, who for anger because he was not called and warned, would not sing with us, so that he stood so much upon his dignitie, that he forgot his simplicitie, and neglected his devotion to the holy land for that time, saying that first they ought to have called him yer they did beginne, because he was a Fryer, and had beene there, and knewe the orders.

The two towers of Jaffa.

Scolio di Santo Petro.

The 23 we sent the bote on land with a messenger to the Padre Guardian of Jerusalem. This day it was notified unto mee by one of the shippe that had beene a slave in Turkie, that no man might weare greene in this land, because their prophet Mahomet went in greene. This came to my knowledge by reason of the Scrivanello,

A messenger departeth for Jerusalem.

Mahomet is clothed in greene.

who had a greene cap, which was forbidden him to weare on the land.

The 24. 25. and 26 we taryed in the shippe still looking for the comming of the Padre guardian, and the 26 at night we had a storme which lasted all the next day.

The Guardian of Jerusalem commeth to Jaffa, with the Cady, and Subassi.

The 27 in the morning, came the Cadi, ye Subassi, & the Meniwe, with the Padre guardian, but they could not come at us by reason of the stormy weather: in the afternoone we assayed to send the bote on land, but the weather would not suffer us. Then againe toward night the bote went a shore, but it returned not that night. The same day in the afternoone we sawe in the element, a cloud with a long tayle, like unto the tayle of a serpent, which cloud is called in Italian Cion, the tayle of this cloud did hang as it were into the sea: and we did see the water under the sayde cloude ascend, as it were like a smoke or myste, the which this Cion drew up to it. The Marriners reported to us that it had this propertie, that if it should happen to have lighted on any part of the shippe, that it would rent and wreth sayles, mast, shroudes and shippe and all in manner like a wyth: on the land, trees, houses, or whatsoever else it lighteth on, it would rent and wreth. These marriners did use a certaine conjuration to breake the sayd tayle, or cut it in two, which as they say doth prevaile. They did take a blacke hafted knife, and with the edge of the same did crosse the said taile as if they would cut it in twain, saying these words, Hold thou Cion, eat this, and then they stucke the knife on the ship side with the edge towards the said cloude, and I saw it therewith vanish in lesse then one quarter of an houre. But whether it was then consumed, or whether by vertue of the Inchantment it did vanish I knowe not, but it was gone. Hereof let them judge that know more then I. This afternoone we had no winde, but the Sea very stormy, insomuch that neither cheste, pot, nor any thing else could stand in the shippe, and wee were driven to keepe our meate in one hand, and the pot in the other,

A cloud called of the Italians Cion most dangerous.

A conjuration.

[II. i. 107.]

A.D. 1553.

and so sit downe upon the hatches to eate, for stand we could not, for that the Seas in the very port at an anker went so high as if wee had bene in the bay of Portugall with stormy weather. The reason is, as the Mariners said to me, because that there meete all the waves from all places of the Straights of Gibraltar, and there breake, and that in most calmes there go greatest seas, whether the winde blow or not.

The 28. the weather growing somewhat calme, wee went on land and rested our selves for that day, and the next day we set forward toward the city of Jerusalem.

What I did, and what places of devotion I visited in Jerusalem, and other parts of the Holy land, from this my departure from Jaffa, untill my returne to the said port, may briefly be seene in my Testimoniall, under the hand & seale of the Vicar generall of Mount Sion, which for the contentment of the Reader I thought good here to interlace.

UNiversis & singulis præsentes litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Attestamur vobis ac aliis quibuscunque, qualiter honorabilis vir Johannes Lok civis Londoniensis, filius honorabilis viri Guilhelmi Lok equitis aurati, ad sacratissima terræ sanctæ loca personaliter se contulit, sanctissimum Domini nostri Jesu Christi sepulchrum, e quo die tertia gloriosus à mortuis resurrexit, sacratissimum Calvariæ montem, in quo pro nobis omnibus cruci affixus mori dignatus est, Sion etiam montem ubi cœnam illam mirificam cum discipulis suis fecit, & ubi spiritus sanctus in die sancto Pentecostes in discipulos eosdem in linguis igneis descendit, Olivetique montem ubi mirabiliter coelos ascendit, intemeratæ virginis Mariæ Mausoleum in Josaphat vallis medio situm, Bethaniam quoque, Bethlehem civitatem David in qua de purissima virgine Maria natus est, ibique inter animalia reclinatus, pluraque loca alia tam in Hierusalem civitate sancta terre Judææ, quàm extra, à modernis peregrinis visitari solita, devotissimè visitavit,

pariterque adoravit. In quorum fidem, ego frater Anthonius de Bergamo ordinis fratrum minorum regularis observantiæ, provinciæ divi Anthonii Sacri conventus montis Sion vicarius (licet indignus) necnon aliorum locorum terræ Sanctæ, apostolica authoritate comissarius & rector, has Sigillo maiori nostri officii nostraque subscriptione muniri volui. Datum Hierosolymis apud sacratissimum domini coenaculum in sæpè memorato monte Sion, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio, die vero sexto mensis Septembris.

Frater Antonius qui supra.

The pilgrimes returne from Jerusalem.

THe 15. of September being come from our pilgrimage, we went aborde our shippe, and set saile, and kept our course West toward the Island of Ciprus, but al that night it was calme, and the 16. the winde freshed, and we passed by Mount Carmel.

Mount Carmel.

The 17. the winde was very scant, yet we kept the sea, and towards night wee had a guste of raine whereby wee were constrained to strike our sailes, but it was not very stormie, nor lasted very long.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. we kept still the sea and saw no land because we had very litle winde, and that not very favourable.

The 22. at noone the Boatswaine sent some of the Mariners into the boat, (which we toed asterne from Jaffa) for certaine necessaries belonging to the ship, wherein the Mariners found a certaine fish in proportion like a Dace, about 6. inches long (yet the Mariners said they had seene the like a foote long and more) the which fish had on every side a wing, and toward the taile two other lesser as it were finnes, on either side one, but in proportion they were wings and of a good length. These wings grow out betweene the gils and the carkasse of the same fish. They are called in the Italian tongue Pesce columbini, for in deede, the wings being spred it is like to a flying dove, they say it will flie farre, and very high. So it seemeth that being weary of her flight,

Pesce columbini.

she fell into the boate, and not being able to rise againe died there.

The 23. 24. and 25. we sailed our direct course with a small gale of winde, and this day we had sight of the Island of Cyprus. The first land that we discovered was a headland called Cavo de la Griega, and about mid-night we ankered by North of the Cape. This cape is a high hil, long and square, and on the East corner it hath a high cop, that appeareth unto those at the sea, like a white cloud, for toward the sea it is white, and it lieth into the sea Southwest. This coast of Cyprus is high declining toward the sea, but it hath no cliffes. *Cavo de la Griega.*

The 26. we set saile againe, and toward noone we came into the port of Salini, where we went on land and lodged that night at a towne one mile from thence called Arnacho di Salini, this is but a village called in Italian, Casalia. This is distant from Jaffa 250. Italian miles.

The 27. we rested, and the 28. we hired horses to ride from Arnacho to Salina, which is a good mile. The salt pit is very neere two miles in compasse, very plaine and levell, into the which they let runne at the time of raine a quantitie of water comming from the mountaines, which water is let in until the pit be full to a certaine marke, which when it is full, the rest is conveyed by a trench into the sea. This water is let runne in about October, or sooner or later, as the time of the yeere doth afforde. There they let it remaine untill the ende of July or the middest of August, out of which pits at that time, in stead of water that they let in they gather very faire white salt, without any further art or labour, for it is only done by the great heate of the sunne. This the Venetians have, and doe maintaine to the use of S. Marke, and the Venetian ships that come to this Iland are bound to cast out their ballast, and to lade with salt for Venice. Also there may none in all the Iland buy salt but of these men, who maintaine these pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night with 6. horse- [II. i. 108.] *Salini. Arnacho di Salini. Casalia.*

Sixe horsemen to watch the salt pit.

men to the end it be not stolne by night. Also under the Venetians dominions no towne may spende any salt, but they must buy it of Saint Marke, neither may any man buy any salt at one towne to carie to another, but every one must buy his salt in the towne where he dwelleth. Neither may any man in Venice buy more salt then he spendeth in the city, for if he be knowen to carie but one ounce out of the citie and be accused, hee looseth an eare. The most part of all the salt they have in Venice commeth from these Salines, and they have it so plentifull, that they are not able, never a yeere to gather the one halfe, for they onely gather in July, August, and September, and not fully these three monethes. Yet notwithstanding the abundance that the shippes carie away yeerely, there remaine heapes like hilles, some heapes able to lade nine or tenne shippes, and there are heapes of two yeeres gathering, some of three and some of nine or tenne yeeres making, to the value of a great summe of golde, and when the ships do lade, they never take it by measure, but when they come at Venice they measure it. This salt as it lyeth in the pit is like so much ice, and it is sixe inches thicke: they digge it with axes, and cause their slaves to cary it to the heapes. This night at midnight we rode to Famagusta, which is eight leagues from Salina, which is 24 English miles.

Famagusta.

The 29 about two houres before day, we alighted at Famagusta, and after we were refreshed we went to see the towne. This is a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest in the Iland. The walles are faire and new, and strongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betweene them turrions, responding one to another, these walles did the Venetians make. They have also on the haven side of it a Castle, and the haven is chained, the citie hath onely two gates, to say, one for the lande and another for the sea, they have in the towne continually, be it peace or warres, 800 souldiers, and fortie and sixe gunners, besides Captaines, petie

Captaines, Governour and Generall. The lande gate hath alwayes fiftie souldiers, pikes and gunners with their harnes, watching thereat night and day. At the sea gate five and twentie, upon the walles every night doe watch fifteene men in watch houses, for every watch house five men, and in the market place 30 souldiers continually. There may no soldier serve there above 5. yeres, neither will they without friendship suffer them to depart afore 5. yeres be expired, and there may serve of all nations except Greekes. They have every pay, which is 45. dayes, 15 Mozenigos, which is 15 shillings sterling. *Mozenigo.* Their horsemen have onely sixe soldes Venetian a day, *Solde of Venice.* and provender for their horses, but they have also certaine lande therewith to plow and sowe for the maintenance of their horses, but truely I marvell how they live being so hardly fed, for all the sommer they feede onely upon chopt strawe and barley, for hey they have none, and yet they be faire, fat and serviceable. The Venetians send every two yeeres new rulers, which they call Castellani. The towne hath allowed it also two gallies *Castellani.* continually armed and furnished.

The 30 in the morning we ridde to a chappell, where they say Saint Katherin was borne. This Chappell is *Saint Katherens Chappel in old Famagusta.* in olde Famagusta, the which was destroyed by Englishmen, and is cleane overthrowne to the ground, to this day desolate and not inhabited by any person, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountaines of faire, great, and strong buildings, and not onely there, but also in many places of the Iland. Moreover when *Divers coines under ground* they digge, plowe, or trench they finde sometimes olde antient coines, some of golde, some of silver, and some of copper, yea and many tombes and vautes with sepulchers in them. This olde Famagusta is from the other, foure miles, and standeth on a hill, but the new towne on a plaine. Thence we returned to new Famagusta againe to dinner, and toward evening we went about the towne, and in the great Church we sawe the tombe of king Jaques, which was the last king of Cyprus, and

was buried in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred seventie & three, and had to wife one of the daughters of Venice, of the house of Cornari, the which family at this day hath great revenues in this Island, and by means of that mariage the Venetians chalenge the kingdom of Cyprus.

[II. i. 109.] *Cornari, a familie of Venice maried to king Jaques.*

The first of October in the morning, we went to see the reliefe of the watches. That done, we went to one of the Greekes Churches to see a pot or Jarre of stone, which is sayd to bee one of the seven Jarres of water, the which the Lord God at the mariage converted into wine. It is a pot of earth very faire, white enamelled, and fairely wrought upon with drawen worke, and hath on either side of it, instead of handles, eares made in fourme as the Painters make angels wings, it was about an elle high, and small at the bottome, with a long necke and correspondent in circuit to the bottome, the belly very great and round, it holdeth full twelve gallons, and hath a tap-hole to drawe wine out thereat, the Jarre is very auncient, but whether it be one of them or no, I know not. The aire of Famagusta is very unwholesome, as they say, by reason of certaine marish ground adjoyning unto it. They have also a certaine yeerely sicknesse raigning in the same towne, above all the rest of the Island: yet neverthelesse, they have it in other townes, but not so much. It is a certaine rednesse and paine of the eyes, the which if it bee not quickly holpen, it taketh away their sight, so that yeerely almost in that towne, they have about twentie that lose their sight, either of one eye or both, and it commeth for the most part in this moneth of October, and the last moneth: for I have met divers times three and foure at once in companies, both men and women. Their living is better cheape in Famagusta then in any other place of the Island, because there may no kinde of provision within their libertie bee solde out of the Citie.

No vitailes must be sold out of the city of Famagusta.

The second of October we returned to Arnacho, where wee rested untill the sixt day. This towne is a pretie

Village, there are thereby toward the Sea side divers monuments, that there hath bene great overthrow of buildings, for to this day there is no yere when they finde not, digging under ground, either coines, caves, and sepulchres of antiquities, as we walking, did see many, so that in effect, all alongst the Sea coast, throughout the whole Island, there is much ruine and overthrow of buildings: for as they say, it was disinhabited sixe and thirtie yeres, before Saint Helens time for lacke of water. And since that time it hath bene ruinated and overthrowen by Richard the first of that name, king of England, which he did in revenge of his sisters ravishment comming to Jerusalem, the which inforcement was done to her by the king of Famagusta.

Great ruines in Cyprus.

Cyprus 36. yeres disinhabited for lacke of water. Cypr. ruinated by Rich. the 1.

The sixt day we rid to Nicosia, which is from Arnacho seven Cyprus miles, which are one and twentie Italian miles. This is the ancientest citie of the Island, and is walled about, but it is not strong neither of walles nor situation: It is by report three Cyprus miles about, it is not throughly inhabited, but hath many great gardens in it, and also very many Date trees, and plentie of Pomegranates and other fruites. There dwell all the Gentilitie of the Island, and there hath every Cavallier or Conte of the Island an habitation. There is in this citie one fountaine rented by saint Marke, which is bound every eight dayes once, to water all the gardens in the towne, and the keeper of this fountaine hath for every tree a Bizantin, which is twelve soldes Venice, and six pence sterling. He that hath that to farme, with a faire and profitable garden thereto belonging, paieth every yeere to saint Marke, fifteene hundred crownes. The streetes of the citie are not paved, which maketh it with the quantitie of the gardens, to seeme but a rurall habitation. But there be many faire buildings in the Citie, there be also Monasteries both of Franks & Greekes. The Cathedrall church is called Santa Sophia, in the which there is an old tombe of Jaspis stone, all of one piece, made in forme of a cariage coffer, twelve spannes long,

Nicosia.

A fountaine that watereth al the gardens in the citie.

A Bizantin is 6d. sterling.

S. Sophia is a Cathedral church of Nicosia.

sixe spannes broad, and seven spannes high, which they say was found under ground. It is as faire a stone as ever I have seene.

The seventh day we rid to a Greeke Frierie halfe a mile without the towne. It is a very pleasaunt place, and the Friers feasted us according to their abilitie. These Friers are such as have bene Priests, and their wives dying they must become Friers of this place, and never after eate flesh, for if they do, they are deprived from saying masse: neither, after they have taken upon them this order, may they marry againe, but they may keepe a single woman. These Greekish Friers are very continent and chast, and surely I have seldome seen (which I have well noted) any of them fat.

The 8. day we returned to Arnacho, and rested there. The 9. after midnight my company rid to the hill called *Monte de la Croce.* Monte de la Croce (but I not disposed would not go) which hill is from Arnacho 15. Italian miles. Upon the sayd hill is a certaine crosse, which is, they say, a holy Crosse. This Crosse in times past did by their report of the Island, hang in the ayre, but by a certaine earthquake, the crosse and the chappell it hung in, were overthrowen, so that never since it would hang againe in the aire. But it is now covered with silver, and hath [II. i. 110.] 3. drops of our lordes blood on it (as they say) and there is in the midst of the great crosse, a little crosse made of the crosse of Christ, but it is closed in the silver, you must (if you will) beleeve it is so, for see it you cannot. This crosse hangeth nowe by both endes in the wall, that you may swing it up and downe, in token that it did once hang in the aire. This was told mee by my fellow pilgrimes, for I sawe it not.

The 10. at night we went aboord by warning of the patron: and the 11. in the morning we set saile, and crept along the shore, but at night we ankered by reason of contrary windes.

Limisso. The 12. we set saile toward Limisso, which is from Salines 50. miles, and there we went on land that night.

The 13. and 14. we remained still on land, and the 15. the patrone sent for us ; but by reason that one of our company was not well, we went not presently, but we were forced afterward to hire a boate, and to overtake the ship tenne miles into the sea. At this Limisso all the Venetian ships lade wine for their provision, and some for to sell, and also vineger. They lade also great store of Carrobi : for all the countrey thereabout adjoining, and all the mountaines are full of Carrobi trees, they lade also cotton wooll there. In the sayd towne we did see a certaine foule of the land (whereof there are many in this Island) named in the Italian tongue Vulture. It is a fowle that is as big as a Swanne, and it liveth upon carion. The skinne is full of soft doune, like to a fine furre, which they use to occupie when they have evill stomacks, and it maketh good digestion. This bird (as they say) will eate as much at one meale as shall serve him fortie dayes after, and within the compasse of that time careth for no more meate. The countrey people, when they have any dead beast, they cary it into the mountaines, or where they suppose the sayd Vultures to haunt, they seeing the carion doe immediately greedily seaze upon it, and doe so ingraft their talents, that they cannot speedily rise agayne, by reason whereof the people come and kill them : sometimes they kill them with dogs, and somtimes with such weapons as they have. This foule is very great and hardy, much like an Eagle in the feathers of her wings and backe, but under her great feathers she is onely doune, her necke also long and full of doune. She hath on the necke bone, betweene the necke and the shoulders, a heape of fethers like a Tassell, her thighs unto her knees are covered with doune, her legs strong and great, and dareth with her talents assault a man. They have also in this Island a certaine small bird, much like unto a Wagtaile in fethers and making, these are so extreme fat that you can perceive nothing els in all their bodies: these birds are now in season.

Carrobi.

Vulture.

Great plenty of very fat birds.

They take great quantitie of them, and they use to pickle them with vineger and salt, and to put them in pots and send them to Venice and other places of Italy for presents of great estimation. They say they send almost 1200. Jarres or pots to Venice, besides those which are consumed in the Island, which are a great number. These are so plentifull that when there is no shipping, you may buy them for 10. Carchies, which coine are 4. to a Venetian Soldo, which is peny farthing the dozen, and when there is store of shipping, 2. pence the dozen, after that rate of their money. They of the limites of Famagusta do keep the statutes of ye Frenchmen which sometimes did rule there. And the people of Nicosia observe the order of the Genoueses, who sometimes also did rule them. All this day we lay in the sea with little wind.

The Famagustans observe the French statutes.

The 16. we met a Venetian ship, and they willing to speake with us, and we with them, made towards each other, but by reason of the evil stirrage of the other ship, we had almost boorded each other to our great danger. Toward night we ankered under Cavo Bianco, but because the winde grew faire, we set saile againe presently.

Cavo Bianco.

The 17. 18. 19. and 20. we were at sea with calme sommer weather, and the 20. we had some raine, and saw another Cion in the element. This day also we sawe, and spake with a Venetian ship called el Bonna, bound for Ciprus.

Another Cion. A ship called el Bonna.

The 21. we sailed with a reasonable gale, and saw no land until the 4. of November. This day we had raine, thunder, lightening, and much wind and stormie weather, but God be praised we escaped all dangers.

A great tempest.

The 4. of November, we had first sight of the Island of Candia, and we fell with the Islands called Gozi, by South of Candia. This day departed this present life, one of our company named Anthonie Gelber of Prussia, who onely tooke his surfet of Cyprus wine. This night we determined to ride a trie, because the wind was contrary, and the weather troublesome.

Candia, Gozi. Antonie Gelber departeth this life.

The 5. we had very rough stormie weather. This day was the sayd Anthonie Gelber sowed in a Chavina filled with stones and throwen into the sea. By reason of the freshnes of the wind we would have made toward the shore, but the wind put us to the sea, where we endured a great storme and a troublesome night.

The 6. 7. and 8. we were continually at the sea, & this day at noone the wind came faire, whereby we recovered the way which we had lost, and sailed out of sight of Candia.

The 9. we sailed all day with a prosperous wind after 14. mile an houre: and the 10. in the morning, wee had sight of Cavo Matapan, and by noone of Cavo Gallo, in Morea, with which land we made by reason of contrary wind, likewise we had sight of Modon, under the which place we ankered. This Modon is a strong towne, and built in the sea, and joineth on the North side to the land. It hath a litle castle built into the sea, with a peere for litle ships and galleis to harbour in. It hath on the South side of the chanell, the Island of Sapientia, with other litle Islands all disinhabited. The chanell lieth Southwest and Northeast betweene the Islands and Morea, which is firme land. This Modon was built by the Venetians, but as some say it was taken from them by force of the Turke, and others say by composition: in like case Coron, and Napolis de Romania, which is also in Morea. This night the Flemmish pilgrimes being drunke would have slaine the patrone because he ankered here. [II. i. 111.]

Cavo Matapan.
Cavo Gallo.
Modon.
Sapientia.
Coron.
Napolis de Romania.

The 11. day we set saile againe, and as we passed by Modon, we saluted them with ordinance, for they that passe by this place, must salute with ordinance, (if they have) or els by striking their top sailes, for if they doe not, the towne will shoot at them. This day toward 2. of the clocke wee passed by the Island of Prodeno, which is but litle, and desert, under the Turke. About 2. houres before night, we had sight of the Islands of

Prodeno.

Zante and Cephalonia. Zante and Cephalonia, which are from Modon one hundreth miles.

Castle Torneste under the Turke. The 12. day in the morning, with the wind at West, we doubled between Castle Torneste, and the Island of Zante. This castle is on the firme land under the Turke. This night we ankred afore the towne of Zante, where we that night went on land, and rested there the 13. 14. and 15. at night we were warned aboord by the patrone. This night the ship tooke in vitailes and other necessaries.

Cavo S. Maria on the coast of Albania. Corfu Island. The 16. in the morning we set saile with a prosperous wind, and the 17. we had sight of Cavo de santa Maria in Albania, on our right hand, and Corfu on the left hand. This night we ankered before the castles of Corfu, and went on land and refreshed our selves.

The description of the force of Corfu. The 18. by meanes of a friend we were licenced to enter the castle or fortresse of Corfu, which is not onely of situation the strongest I have seene, but also of edification. It hath for the Inner warde two strong castles situated on the top of two high cragges of a rocke, a bowe shoot distant the one from the other: the rocke is unassaultable, for the second warde it hath strong walles, with rampiers and trenches, made as well as any arte can devise. For the third warde and uttermost, it hath very strong walles with rampires of the rocke it selfe cut out by force, and trenched about with the Sea. The bulwarkes of the uttermost warde are not yet finished, which are in number but two: there are continually in the castle seven hundred souldiours. Also it hath continually foure wardes, to wit, for the land entrie one, for the sea entrie another, and two other wardes. Artillerie and other munition of defence alwayes readie planted it hath sufficient, besides the store remaining in their storehouses. The Venetians hold this for the key of all their dominions, and for strength it may be no lesse. This Island is very fruitfull and plentifull of wine and corne very good, and olives great store. This Island is parted from Albania with a chanell, in some places

The Island of Corfu is very plentifull.

A.D. 1553.

eight and ten, and in other but three miles. Albania is under the Turke, but in it are many Christians. All the horsemen of Corfu are Albaneses; the Island is not above 80. or 90. miles in compasse.

The 19. 20. and 21. we remained in the towne of Corfu.

The 22. day wee went aboord and set saile, the wind being very calme wee toed the ship all that day, and toward Sunne set, the castle sent a Fragatta unto us, to give us warning of three Foistes comming after us, for whose comming wee prepared and watched all night, but they came not.

The 23. day in the morning being calme, wee toed out of the Streight, untill wee came to the olde towne, whereof there is nothing standing but the walles. There is also a new Church of the Greekes called Santa Maria di Cassopo, and the townes name is called Cassopo. It *Cassopo.* is a good porte. About noone wee passed the Streight, and drew toward the ende of the Island, having almost no wind. This night after supper, by reason of a certaine *A dangerous tumult in the ship.* Hollander that was drunke, there arose in the ship such a troublesome disturbance, that all the ship was in an uprore with weapons, and had it not bene rather by Gods helpe, and the wisedome and patience of the patrone, more then by our procurement, there had bene that night a great slaughter. But as God would, there was no hurt, but onely the beginner was put under hatches, and with the fall hurt his face very sore. All this night the wind blew at Southeast, and sent us forward.

The 24. in the morning wee found our selves before an Island called Saseno, which is in the entrie to Valona, *Saseno. Valona.* and the wind prosperous.

The 25. day we were before the hils of Antiveri, and about sunne set wee passed Ragusa, and three houres [II. i. 112.] within night we ankered within Meleda, having Sclavonia *Meleda.* or Dalmatia on the right hand of us, and the winde Southwest.

The 26 in the morning we set sayle, and passed the channell between Sclavonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile over at the most. This Iland is under the Raguses. At after noone with a hard gale at west and by north we entered the channell betweene the Iland Curzola and the hilles of Dalmatia, in the which channell be many rockes, and the channell not past 3 miles over, and we ankered before the towne of Curzola. This is a pretie towne walled about and built upon the sea side, having on the toppe of a round hill a faire Church. This Iland is under the Venetians, there grow very good vines, also that part toward Dalmatia is well peopled and husbanded, especially for wines. In the said Iland we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, tenne gallies, and three foystes. All that night we remained there.

Curzola a fruitfull Iland.

The 27 we set sayle and passed along the Iland, and towards afternoone we passed in before the Iland of Augusta, and about sunne set before the towne of Lesina, whereas I am informed by the Italians, they take all the Sardinas that they spend in Italy. This day we had a prosperous winde at Southeast. The Iland of Lesina is under the Venetians, a very fruitfull Iland adjoyning to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and passed along.

In the Iland of Lesina, are taken store of Sardinas.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quernero, and about two houres after noone we were before the cape of Istria, and at sunne set we were at anker afore Rovignio which is also in Istria and under the Venetians, where all ships Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their Pilots to goe for Venice. All the sommer the Pilots lie at Rovignio, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rovignio 18 miles by West.

The gulfe of Quernero.

Rovignio.

The 29 we set sayle and went as farre as Parenzo, and ankered there that day, and went no further.

Parenzo.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to Sant Nicolo a litle Iland hard by uninhabited, but only it hath a Monastery, & is full of Olive trees, after masse wee

S. Nicolo an Iland.

returned and went aboord. This day the patron hired a Barke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to see the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretie handsome towne, under the Venetians. After supper wee imbarked our selves againe, and that night wee sayled towardes Venice.

Caorle standing at the entry of the marshes of Venice.

The first of December we past a towne of the Venetians, standing on the entery to the Palude or marshes of Venice : which towne is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were driven thither to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and forty from Venice, there we remayned that night.

Our arrivall at Venice

The second two houres before day, with the winde at Southeast, we sayled towards Venice, where we arrived (God be praysed) at two of the clocke after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept so long from landing, because we durst not land untill we had presented to the Providor de la Sanita, our letter of health.

The manner of the entring of Soliman the great Turke, with his armie into Aleppo in Syria, marching towards Persia against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of November, 1553, noted by Master Anthony Jenkinson, present at that time.

THere marched before the Grand Signior, otherwise called the Great Turke, 6000 Esperes, otherwise called light horsemen very brave, clothed all in scarlet.

After, marched 10000 men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to the Great Turke, clothed all in yellow velvet, and hats of the same, of the Tartary fashion, two foote long, with a great role of the same colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkish fashion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkish Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimson

velvet, every one having under his banner twelve thousand men of armes well armed with their morrions upon their heads, marching in good order, with a short weapon by their sides, called in their language, Simiterro.

After came 16000 Janizaries, called the slaves of the Grand Signior, all a foote, every one having his harquebush, who be his gard, all clothed in violet silke, and apparelled upon their heads with a strange forme, called Cuocullucia, fashioned in this sort: the entering in of the forehead is like a skull made of white velvet, & hath a traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a French hoode, of the same colour, and upon the forepart of the said skull, just in the middes of his forehead there is standing bolt upright like a trunke of a foote [II. i. 113.] long of silver, garnished most richly with Goldsmiths worke, and precious stones, and in the top of the said trunke a great bush of fethers, which waveth up and downe most bravely when he marcheth.

After this, there cam 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of gold, the halfe of them carying harquebushes, and the other halfe Turkish bowes, with their trusses of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and upon their harnesse coates of the Turkes fashion, of Libard skinnes, and murrions upon their heads, their speares charged, and at the end of their staffe hard by ye head of the speare, a horse taile died in a bloody colour, which is their ensigne: they be the chalengers for the Turkes owne person.

After them came seven pages of honour in cloth of silver, upon seven white horses, which horses were covered with cloth of silver, all embrodered and garnished with precious stones, emerauds, diamonds, and rubies most richly.

After them also came sixe more pages of honour, clothed in cloth of gold, every one having his bowe in his hand, and his fawchine of the Turkes fashion by his side.

Immediately after them came the great Turke himselfe with great pompe & magnificence, using in his countenance and gesture a wonderfull majestie, having onely on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of gold: he himselfe was mounted upon a goodly white horse, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embrodered most richly with the most precious stones, and upon his head a goodly white tucke, containing in length by estimation fifteene yards, which was of silke and linnen woven together, resembling something Callicut cloth, but is much more fine and rich, and in the top of his crowne, a litle pinnach of white Ostrich feathers, and his horse most richly apparelled in all points correspondent to the same.

After him folowed sixe goodly yong ladies, mounted upon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of silver, which were of the fashion of mens garments, embrodered very richly with pearle and precious stones, and had upon their heads caps of Goldsmiths worke, having great flackets of haire, hanging out on each side, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the same colour, every of them having two eunuches on each side, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike fashion.

After marched ye great Basha chiefe conductor of the whole army, clothed with a robe of Dollymant crimson, and upon the same another short garment very rich, and about him fiftie Janizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimson velvet, being armed as the great Turks owne Janizaries.

Then after ensued three other Bashas, with slaves about them, being afoote, to the number of three thousand men.

After came a companie of horsemen very brave, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thousand.

All this aforesayd army, most pompous to behold, which was in number foure score and eight thousand men, encamped about the citie of Aleppo, and the Grand

Signior himselfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly castle, situated upon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly river, which is a branch of that famous river Euphrates.

The rest of his armie passed over the mountaines of Armenia called now the mountaines of Camarie, which are foure dayes journey from Aleppo, appointed there to tary the comming of the Grand Signior, with the rest of his armie, intending to march into Persia, to give battel to the great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well those that went by the mountaines, as also those that came to Aleppo in company with him, with horsemen & footemen, and the conductors of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which caried munition and vitailes for the said army, were in number 200000.

A note of the presents that were given at the same time in Aleppo, to the grand Signior, and the names of the presenters.

FIrst the Basha of Aleppo, which is as a Viceroy, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and 25. horses.

The Basha of Damasco, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and twentie horses, with divers sorts of comfits, in great quantitie.

The Basha of Aman presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. horses, and a cup of gold, with two thousand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis presented six camels, charged all with silkes, 20. horses, and a little clocke of gold, garnished with precious stones, esteemed worth two hundred duckets.

[II. i. 114.] The Consul of the company of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kisse the grand Signiors hand, and presented him a great basin of gold, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The safeconduct or priviledge given by Sultan Solyman the great Turke, to master Anthony Jenkinson at Aleppo in Syria, in the yeere 1553.

SUltan Solyman, &c. to all Viceroyes, Saniaques, Cadies, and other our Justicers, Officers, and subjects of Tripolis in Syria, Constantinople, Alexandria in Ægypt, and of all other townes and cities under our dominion and jurisdiction: We will and commaund you, that when you shall see Anthony Jenkinson, bearer of these present letters, merchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other bearing the sayd letter for him, arrive in our ports and havens, with his ship or ships, or other vessels whatsoever, that you suffer him to lade or unlade his merchandise wheresoever it shall seeme good unto him, traffiking for himselfe in all our countreys and dominions, without hindering or any way disturbing of him, his ship, his people or merchandise, and without enforcing him to pay any other custome or toll whatsoever, in any sort, or to any persons whatsoever they be, save onely our ordinarie duties contained in our custome houses, which when he hath paied, we will that he be franke and free, as well for himselfe as for his people, merchandise, ship or ships, and all other vessels whatsoever: and in so doing that he may traffike, bargaine, sell and buy, lade and unlade, in all our foresayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like sort, and with the like liberties and priviledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians use, and enjoy, and more if it bee possible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore, wee charge and commaund all Viceroyes, and Consuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Consuls resident in our Countreys, in what port or province soever they be, not to constraine, or cause to constraine

by them, or the sayd Ministers and Officers whatsoever they be, the sayd Anthony Jenkinson, or his factor, or his servaunts, or deputies, or his merchandise, to pay any kind of consullage, or other right whatsoever, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to molest nor trouble him any maner of way, because our will and pleasure is, that he shall not pay in all our Countreys, any other then our ordinarie custome. And in case any man hinder and impeach him, above, and besides these our present letters, wee charge you most expresly to defend and assist him agaynst the sayd Consuls, and if they will not obey our present commandement, that you advertise us thereof, that we may take such order for the same, that others may take example thereby. Moreover, we commaund all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foistes or other Vessels, that when they shall finde the sayd Jenkinson, or his factor, his ship or ships, with his servaunts and merchandise, that they hurt him not neither in body nor goods, but that rather they assist and defend him agaynst all such as seeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with vitailes, according to his want, and that whosoever shall see these presents, obey the same, as they will avoyd the penaltie in doing the contrary. Made in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy prophet Mahomet, and in the yeere of Jesus, 1553. signed with the scepter and signet of the grand Signior, with his owne proper hand.

A discourse of the trade to Chio, in the yeere 1569. made by Gaspar Campion, unto master Michael Locke, and unto master William Winter, as by his letters unto them both shall appeare. Written the 14. of February.

Orshipfull Sir, &c. As these dayes past I spake unto you about the procurement of a safe conduct from the great Turke, for a trade to Chio: The way and maner how it may be obtained with great ease shall plainly appeare unto you in the lines following. Sir, you shall understand that the Island of Chio in time past hath bene a Signiorie or lordship of it selfe, and did belong unto the Genowaies. There were 24. of them that governed the island which were called Mauneses. But in continuaunce of time the Turke waxed so strong and mightie, that they, considering they were not able to keepe it, unlesse they should become his tributaries, because the Island had no corne, nor any kind of vitailes to sustaine themselves, but onely that which must of necessitie come out of the Turkes dominions, and the sayd island being inclosed with the Turks round about, and but 12. miles from the Turks Continent, therefore the said Genowaies did compound and agree to be the Turkes tributaries, and to pay him 14000. thousand ducates yeerely. Alwayes provided, that they should keep their lawes both spirituall and temporall, as they did when the Iland was in their owne hands. Thus he granted them their priviledge, which they injoyed for many yeeres, so that all strangers, and also many English men did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in safety. In this meane time, the prince Pedro Doria (being a Genouois) became a captaine to serve the Emperour with 30 or 40 gallies against the Turke. And since that time divers other captaines belonging to Genoa have bene in

1569. [II. i. 115.]

The Prince Pedro Doria is captaine of 40 gallies under the Emperor.

the service of king Philip against the Turke. Moreover, whensoever the Turke made out any army, he perceived that no nation did him more hurt then those Genouois, who were his tributaries. Likewise at the Turkes siege of Malta, before which place he lay a great while, with losse of his men, and also of his gallies, he found none so troublesome unto his force, as one Juanette Doria a Genouois, and divers others of the Iland of Chio, who were his tributaries. At which sight, he tooke such displeasure against them of Chio, that he sent certaine of his gallies to the Iland, for to seise upon all the goods of the 24 Mauneses, and to turne them with their wives and children out of the Iland, but they would let none other depart, because the Iland should not be unpeopled. So that now the Turke hath sent one of his chiefe men to rule there: whereby now it will be more easie for us to obtaine our safeconduct then ever it was before. For if the townesmen of Chio did know that we would trade thither (as we did in times past) they themselves, and also the customer (for the Turke in all his dominions doth rent his customes) would be the chiefest procurer of this our safeconduct for his owne gaine: which is no small matter: for we can pay no lesse then ten in the hundred thorowout the Turks whole dominion. Insomuch, that if one of our shippes should go thither, it would be for the customers profit 4000 ducats at least, whereas if we should not trade thither, he should lose so much. Also the burgesses, and the common people would be very glad of our trade there, for the Communalty do get more by our countreymen then they do by any other nation whatsoever: for we do use to buy many of their silke quilts, and of their Scamato and Dimite, that the poore people make in that towne, more then any other nation, so that we would not so gladly trade, but the people of the countrey would be twise so willing. Wherefore they themselves would be a meanes unto their governour, by their petition to bring this trade to passe: giving him to understand that of

Juanette Doria.

The Mauneses put out of the Iland of Chio by the Turke.

The custome thorowout all Turkie is ten in every hundreth.

English men do buy more commodities of Chio then any other nation.

all nations in the world we do him least hurt, and that we may do his countrey great good in consuming those commodities which his countrey people make. Furthermore, it were farre more requisite that we should cary our owne commodities, then to suffer a stranger to cary them thither, for that we can affoord them better cheape then a stranger can. I write not this by hearesay of other men, but of mine own experience, for I have traded in the countrey above this 30 yeres, and have bene maried in the towne of Chio full 24 yeres, so that you may assure yourselfe that I will write nothing but truth. Now I will declare unto you the wares and commodities that are in the countreyes neere about Chio. There are very good galles, the best sort whereof are sold in England five shillings deerer then any other countrey galles. There is also cotten wooll, tanned hides, hides in the haire, waxe, chamlets, mocayares, grogerams, silke of divers countreyes, cordovan skinnes tanned white, to be made blacke, of them great quantity, and also course wooll to make beds. The naturall commodities growing in the Iland it selfe are silke rawe, and masticke. Of these commodities there are laden yeerely ten or twelve great ships of Genoa, besides five or sixe that do belong to the towne of Chio, which ships are fraughted for Genoa, Messina, and Ancona. And now that the Mauneses and the chiefe merchants of Genoa are banished, the trade is cleane lost, by reason whereof merchandise must now of necessity be better cheape then they have bene in times past. But yet when all those ships did trade to the countrey, & also our ships, we never had lesse then three kintals of galles for a carsie, and in England we sold them for 35 and 36 shillings the hundred. And whereas now they are brought by the Venetians, they sell them unto us for three pound tenne shillings, and foure pound the hundred. Also we had three kintals of cotten wooll for a carsie, and solde the wooll in England for 50 shillings or 3 pound at the most, whereas now the Italians sell the same to us

Great store of sundry commodities to be had in Chio.

for 4 pound 10 shillings and 5 pound the hundred. In like maner chamlets, whereas we had three pieces, and of the best sort two and a halfe for a carsie, and could not sell them above 20 shillings and 22 shillings the piece, they sell them for 30 and 35 shillings the piece. Also grogerams, where we had of the best, two pieces and a halfe for a carsie, they sell them for foure shillings and foure shillings and sixe pence the yard. Carpets the smaller sort which serve for cupboords, we had three for a carsie: whereas we at the most could not sell them but for 20 shillings the piece, they sell them for 35 shillings the piece. And so all other commodities that the Venetians do bring, they sell them to us for the third part more gaines then we our selves in those dayes that we traded in those parts. Likewise the barrels of oile that they bring from Candia, we never could sell them above foure nobles the barrell, where they sell them alwayes for 50 shillings & 3 pound the barrell. What [II. i. 116.] great pity is this, that we should lose so good a trade, and may have it in our owne hands, and be better welcome to that countrey then the Venetians. Moreover, the Venetians come very little to Chio, for their most trade is into Alexandria. And for to assure you that we had these commodities in barter of our carsies, looke into your fathers books, and the books of Sir John Gresham, and his brethren, and you shall finde what I have sayd to be true.

Divers places where we may have sweete oiles for our clothing farre cheaper then out of Spaine.

Also you know, that we are forced to seeke oiles out of Spaine, and that for these many yeeres they have bene solde for 25 pound and 30 pound the tunne: whereas, if we can obtaine the foresayd safeconduct from the Turke, there are divers places in his dominions, where we may lade 500 tunnes, at 5 pound sterling the tunne. The places are Modon, and Coron, which are but twelve miles distant the one from the other, and do stand in our way to Chio, as you may plainly see by the Card. Also these are places where we may utter our owne commodities, and not onely these two places,

A.D. 1569.

but many others, where we may have oiles, and be better used then we are in Spaine, where we pay very deare, and also are very evill intreated many wayes, as to you is not unknowen. So that by these meanes (if the marchants will) we may be eased, and have such a trade as the like is not in Christendome. Now, as for getting the safeconduct, if I were but able to spend one hundred pounds by the yeere, I would be bound to lose it, if that I did not obtaine the foresayd safeconduct. For I know that if the inhabitants of Chio did but thinke that wee would trade thither againe, they at their owne cost would procure to us a safeconduct, without any peny of charges to the marchants. So that if the marchants will but beare my charges to solicit the cause, I will undertake it my selfe. Wherefore I pray you speake to M. Winter and the other marchants, that this matter may take effect. And let me have your answere herein assoone as conveniently you may, for that the time of the yeere draweth nigh that this businesse must be done. Thus I commit you to God, and rest alwayes yours to command.

Yours as your servant Gaspar Campion.

To the worshipfull M. William Winter.

IT may please your worship to understand, that as concerning the voyage to Chio, what great profit would be gotten, both for marchants, and also for owners of shippes (as it was well knowen in those dayes when the Matthew Gonson, the Trinitie Fitzwilliams, and the Saviour of Bristow, with divers other ships which traded thither yerely, and made their voyage in ten or twelve moneths, and the longest in a yeere) M. Francis Lambert, M. John Brooke, and M. Drauer can truely informe you heereof at large. And by reason that wee have not traded into those parts these many yeeres, and the Turke is growen mighty, whereby our ships doe not trade as

they were woont, I finde that the Venetians doe bring those commodities hither, and doe sell them for double the value that we our selves were accustomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the above named men, that there is none so fit to furnish this voyage as your selfe: my request is that there may be a shippe of convenient burthen prepared for this voyage, and then I will satisfie you at large what is to be done therein. And because the Turke, as I sayd before, is waxen strong, and hath put out the Christian rulers, and placed his owne subjects, we may doubt whether we may so peaceably trade thither as we were woont: therefore I dare undertake to obtaine a safeconduct, if my charges may be borne to goe and come. Of the way how this may be done, M. Locke can satisfie you at large. Moreover, I can informe you more of the trade of that countrey, then any other, for that I have bene in those parts these thirty yeeres, and have bene married in the very towne of Chio full foure and twenty yeres. Furthermore, when one of our ships commeth thither, they bring at the least sixe or eight thousand carsies, so that the custome thereof is profitable for the prince, and the returne of them is profitable to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we tooke the commodities which the poore of that towne made in their houses: so that one of our shippes brought the prince and countrey more gaines then sixe ships of other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the onely cause why the Christian rulers were displaced: for when they payd not their yerely tribute, they were put out by force. Touching the ship that must go, she must observe this order, she must be a ship of countenance, and she must not touch in any part of Spaine, for the times are dangerous, nor take in any lading there: but she must lade in England, either goods of our owne, or els of strangers, and go to Genoa or Legorno, where we may be wel intreated, and from thence she must make her money to buy wines, by ex-

Gaspar Campion married in Chio 24 yeeres.

change to Candia, for there both custome & exchange are reasonable: and not do as the Math. Gonson & other ships did in time past, who made sale of their [II. i. 117.] wares at Messina for the lading of their wines, and payed for turning their white money into golde after foure and five in the hundreth, and also did hazzard the losse of shippe and goods by carying away their money. Thus by the aforesayd course we shall trade quietly, and not be subject to these dangers. Also from Legorno to Castilla de la mar, which is but 16 miles from Naples, and the ready way to Candia, you may lade hoopes, which will cost carolins of Naples 27 and a halfe the thousand, which is ducats two and a halfe of Spaine. And in Candia for every thousand of hoops you shall have a but of Malmesey cleare of all charges. Insomuch that a ship of the burden of the Mathew Gonson will cary foure hundreth thousand hoops, so that one thousand ducats will lade her, and this is an usual trade to Candia, as M. Michael Locke can testifie. Furthermore, it is not unknowen to you, that the oiles which we do spend in England for our cloth, are brought out of Spaine, and that very deare, and in England we cannot sell them under 28 pound and 30 pound the tunne: I say we may have good oile, and better cheape in divers places within the streights. Wherefore if you thinke good to take this voyage in hand, I will informe you more particularly when you please. In the meane time I rest your worships to command.

Store of hoops laden at Castilla de la mare for Candia.

Yours at your pleasure Jasper Campion.

[The true

The true report of the siege and taking of Famagusta, of the antique writers called Tamassus, a city in Cyprus 1571. In the which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines, and assaults given to the sayd fortresse, may plainly appeare. Englished out of Italian by William Malim.

To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, and onely Patron the Earle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Majesties most honourable privy Councell &c. William Malim wisheth long health with increase of honour.

IT hath bene a naturall instinct (right honourable and mine especiall good lord) ingraffed in noble personages hearts, much approved and confirmed also by custome, for them to seeke from time to time, by some meanes in their life, by the which they after their death might deliver over their name to their posteritie: least otherwise with their body, their fame also altogether might perchance be buried. Upon the which consideration we reade many notable and famous things to have bene erected in time past of noble personages (having had wealth at will) in such sort, that not onely certaine ruines of the same sumptuous works builded so many hundred yeres past, do still remaine, but also the most part of those princes, the authours of them, do continually by them dwell in our memories. As the Pyramides made at Memphis, or neere the famous river of Nilus, by the great expenses of the kings of Egypt: the tower called Pharia, made in the Iland of Pharos by king Ptolomee: the walles of Babylon, made or at the least reedified by

queene Semiramis: Dianas church at Ephesus builded by all the noble persons of Asia: Mausolus toome or sepulchre, made by his wife queene of Caria: Colossus Solis placed at Rhodes, I remember not by what Princes charge, but made by the hands of Cares Lindius scholar to Lysippus: and the image of Jupiter, made of Yvory by the hands of the skilfull workman Phydias. The which monuments made of barbarous and heathen Princes to redeeme themselves from oblivion deserved both for the magnificence, and perfect workmanship of the same, to be accounted in those dayes as the seven woonders of the world. Since the which time, an easier, readier, and lighter way, being also of more còntinuance then the former, hath bene found out, namely, Letters, which were first invented by the Caldies and Egyptians, as we reade, and augmented since by others, to our great benefit, and now last of all (no long time past) the same to have bene committed to Printers presses, to the greatest perfection of the same: men being first inforced to write their actes and monuments in beasts skinnes dried, in barkes of trees, or otherwise perchance as unreadily. By the which benefit of letters (now reduced into print) we see how easie a thing it is, and hath bene for noble persons, to live for ever by the helpe of learned men. For the memory of those two woorthy and valiant captaines Scipio and Hannibal had bene long before this present [II. i. 118.] quite forgotten, except Titus Livius, or some such learned Historiographer had written of them in time. And Alexander Magnus himselfe that great conquerour had nothing beene spoken of, had not Q. Curtius, or some other like by his learned stile revived the remembrance of him, and called backe againe his doings to his posteritie. For the which cause we see commonly in all ages learned men to be much made of by noble personages, as that rare paterne of learning Aristotle to have bene greatly honoured of that former renowmed Monarch Alexander: who affirmed openly, that he was more bound to his Master Aristotle, then to king Philip his father,

because the one had well framed his minde, the other onely his body. Many other like examples I could alledge at this present, if I knew not unto whom I now wrote, or in what: for your honour being skilfull in histories, and so familiarly acquainted with the matter it selfe, that is in still entertaining learned men with all curtesie, I should seeme to light a candle at noone tide, to put you in remembrance of the one, or to exhort you to doe the other, dayly being accustomed to performe the same. Crassus sayth in Tullies first booke, De Oratore: that a Lawyers house is the oracle of the whole citie. But I can justly witnesse, that for these five yeeres last past, since my returne from my travell beyond the seas, that your lodging in the Court (where I through your undeserved goodnesse to my great comfort do dayly frequent) hath bene a continuall receptacle or harbour for all learned men comming from both the eyes of the realme, Cambridge, and Oxford (of the which University your lordship is Chanceller) to their great satisfaction of minde, and ready dispatch of their sutes. Especially for Preachers and Ministers of true religion: of the which you have beene from time to time not onely a great favourer, but an earnest furtherer, and protectour: so that these two nurseries of learning (in one of the which I have before this spent part of my time, that I may speake boldly what I thinke) should wrong your honour greatly, and much forget themselves, if by all meanes possible they should not heerafter (as at this present to their smal powers many well learned gentlemen of them do) labour and travell in shewing of themselves thankefull, to reverence and honour your lordship, and honest their owne names: whose studies certeinly would suddenly decay and fall flat, if they were not held up by such noble proppes, and had not some sure ankerholds in their distresse to leane unto. How ready dayly your travell is, and hath long beene besides to benefit all other persons, in whom any sparke of vertue or honesty remaineth, I need not labour to expresse, the world

knowing already the same. But whosoever they be, that in all their life time have an especiall care by all meanes to profit as many as they be able, and hurt none, do not onely a laudable act, but leade a perfect and very godly life. Whereupon Strabo affirmeth this most truely to be spoken of them: Mortales tum demum Deum imitari, cum benefici fuerint. That is, Mortall men then specially to follow the nature of God, when they are beneficiall and bountifull to others. Great commendation undoubtedly it bringeth to any noble personage, that as the Moone, that light and brightnesse which she receiveth of the Sun, is wont presently to spread abroad upon the face of the earth, to the refreshing and comforting of all inferiour and naturall things bearing life: so for him, to bestow all that favour and credit, which he hath gotten at the princes handes, to the helpe and reliefe of the woorthy and needy. Great is the force (my right honourable lord) of true vertue, which causeth men, as Tully writeth in his booke De Amicitia, to be loved & honored oft of those persons, which never saw them. Whereof I never had better proofe (I take God & mine one conscience to witnesse, the which I declared also to certaine of my friends assoone as I returned) then at my last being at Constantinople, in the yere of our Lord 1564, whereas I oft resorting (as occasion served) to the right honorable Christian ambassadors, while I made my abode there (namely unto Monsieur Antonio Petrimol, lieger there for the French king, Sig. M. Victor Bragadino, for the segniory of Venice, Sig. Lorenzo Giustiniano, for the state of Scio, or Chios, and Sig. Albertacio delli Alberti, for the duke of Florence) heard them often report and speake very honorably of your lordship, partly for your other good inclinations of nature, but especially for your liberality, & courteous intreating of divers of their friends & countrymen, which upon sundry occasions had bene here in this our realme. So that to conclude, all men justly favour your honourable dealings and deserts: and I for my part have reverenced and honoured

Master Malim at Constantinople 1564.

the same evermore both here at home, and elswhere abroad, wishing often to have had some just occasion to pay part of that in good will, which my slender abilitie will never suffer me fully to discharge. For unto whom should I sooner present any thing any way, especially concerning matters done abroad, then unto your lordship, by whom I was much cherished abroad in my travell, and mainteined since my returne here at home? For the which cause I have enterprised (hoping greatly of your lordships favour herein) to clothe and set forth a few Italian newes in our English attire, being first mooved
[II. i. 119.] thereunto by the right worshipfull M. D. Wilson Master of her Majesties Requests, your honours assured trusty friend, a great & painfull furtherer of learning, whom I, and many other for divers respects ought to reverence: who remembring that I had bene at Cyprus, was willing that my pen should travell about the Christian and Turkish affaires, which there lately have happened: perswading himselfe, that somewhat thereby I might benefit this our native countrey. Against whose reasonable motion I could not greatly wrestle, hazzarding rather my slender skill in attempting and performing this his requested taske, then he through my refusall should seeme to want any jot of my good will. In offering up the which newes, although I shall present no new thing to your honour, because you are so well acquainted with the Italian copy, as I know: yet I trust your lordship will not mislike, that the same which is both pleasant to reade, and so necessary to be knowen for divers of our captaines and other our countreymen, which are ignorant in the Italian tongue, may thus now shew it selfe abroad, covered under the wing of your lordships protection. Certeinly it mooveth me much to remember the losse of those three notable Ilands, to the great discomfort of all Christendome, to those hellish Turkes, horseleeches
Rhodes lost. of Christian blood: namely Rhodes besieged on S. John Baptists day, and taken on Johns day the Evangelist,
Scio lost. being the 27 of December 1522. Scio or Chios being

lost since my being there, taken of Piali Basha with 80 gallies, the 17 of April 1566. And now last of all not only Famagusta the chiefe holde & fortresse in Cyprus to have bene lost of the Venetians the 15 of August last past 1571 (the chiefe governors & captaines of them being hewen in sunder by the commandement of that tyrant Mustafa Basha) but all the whole Iland also to be conquered by those cruell Turks, ancient professed enemies to all Christian religion. In the which evill successe (comming to us as I take it for our offences) as I lament the generall losse: so I am surely pensive to understand by this too true a report of the vile death of two particular noble gentlemen of Venice, Sig. M. Lorenzo Tiepolo, and Sig. M. Giovanni Antonio Querini: of both the which I in my travaile was very courteously used, the former of them being then (as now also he was in this overthrow) governour of Baffo in Cyprus, the other captaine of one of the castels at Corcyra in Greece, now called Corfu. But things past are past amendment, and they could never die more honourably, then in the defence of their countrey. Besides that the late blowes, which the Turks have received since this their fury, in token of Gods wrath against them, do much comfort every Christian heart. Moreover this uniforme preparation which is certainly concluded, and forthwith looked for, by very many Christian Princes (would God by all generally) against these barbarous Mahometists: whose cruelty and beastly behaviour I partly know, and am able to judge of, having bene in Turky amongst them more then eight moneths together. Whose unfaithfulnesse also and breach of promise, as the Venetians manly courage in defence of themselves, and their fortresse, your honour may easily reade in this short treatise and small handfull of leaves, I having set downe also a short description of the Iland of Cyprus, for the better understanding of the whole matter. The which I not onely most humbly beseech your honour now favourably to accept as an earnest peny of more to

Cyprus lost.

come, and of my present good will: but with your accustomed goodnesse towards me, to defend the same against such persons, whose tongues too readily roule sometime against other mens painfull travels, perswading themselves to purchase the sooner some credit of learning with the ruder sort, by controlling and overdaintie sifting of other mens laboured tasks. For I know in all ages to be found as well Basilisks as Elephants. Thus nothing doubting of your ready ayd heerein, as I assuredly trust of your honours favourable acceptation of this my poore present, wishing long life with the increase of Gods holy spirit to your lordship and to all your most honourable familie (unto whom I have wholly dedicated my selfe by mine owne choise and election for ever) I, craving pardon for my former boldnesse, most humbly thus take my leave. From Lambhith the 23 of March. Ann. 1572.

Your honours most humble and faithfull servant for ever, William Malim.

A briefe description of the Iland of Cyprus: by the which not onely the Venetians title why they have so long enjoyed it, but also the Turks, whereby now he claimeth it, may plainly appeare.

THe Iland of Cyprus is invironed with divers seas: for Westward it is washed with the sea called Pamphilium: Southward, with the sea Ægyptium: on the East part, with the sea Syrium: and Northward, with the sea called Cilicium. The which Iland in time past had divers names: called once Acamantis, as Sabel-
[II. i. 120.] licus witnesseth. Philonides maketh mention, that it was called sometime Cerasis. Xenogoras writeth, that it was named Aspelia, Amathusa, & Macaria. There were in times past fifteene cities or famous townes in it, but now very few, amongst the which Famagusta is the chiefest & strongest, situated by the sea side. There is also Nicosia, which was woont, by the traffike

of Marchants, to be very wealthy: besides the city of Baffo, Arnica, Saline, Limisso, Melipotamo, & Episcopia. Timosthenes affirmeth, that this Iland is in compasse 429 miles: and Arthemidorus writeth the length of the same to be 162 miles, measuring of it from the East to the West, betwixt two promontories named Dinaretta and Acamanta. This Iland is thought to be very rich, abundant of Wine, Oile, Graine, Pitch, Rozin, Allum, Salt, and of divers precious stones, pleasant, profitable, and necessary for mans use, and much frequented of Marchants of Syria, unto the which it lieth very nere. It hath bene, as Plinie writeth, joyned sometime with Syria, as Sicilia hath beene also with Italy. It was a long time subject unto the Romans, after to the Persians, and to the Soldan of Ægypt. The selfesame Iland was sometime also English, being conquered by king Richard the first, in his voyage to Hierusalem in the yeere of our Lord 1192. Who (as Polydore writeth in his fourteenth booke of our English historie) being prohibited by the Cypriottes from arrivall there, invaded and conquered the same soone after by force: and having left behinde him sufficient garrisons to keepe the same, departed from thence to Ptolemayda: who afterward exchanged the same with Guy of Lusignan, that was the last christened king of Hierusalem, for the same kingdome. For the which cause the kings of England were long time after called kings of Hierusalem. And last of all, the Venetians have enjoyed it of late a long time, in this order following. In the yeere of our Lord 1470, John king of the sayd Iland, sonne to Janus of Lusignan, had by Helen his wife, which was of the Emperiall house of Paleologus, one daughter only called Charlotta, and a bastard called James: the which James was afterward consecrated Bishop of Nicosia. This Charlotta was married first to the king of Portingall, of whom he had no issue, so that he being dead, Lewes Duke of Savoy (to whom shee was the second time married) sonne to Lewes the second of that name (unto

whom the said Iland by the right of this his wife Charlotta did appertaine) had the possession of the same. James the bastard assoone as his father was dead, of a Bishop became a souldiour, and with an army wanne the Iland, making it his owne by force. This Duke of Savoy hearing these newes, with a number of well appointed souldiers, arrived shortly after in Cyprus, and recovering againe the Iland, compelled the bastard to flie foorthwith over to the Soldan of Ægypt. Who making himselfe his subject, in time so wrought and tempered the matter, that the Soldan in person at his request passed over into Cyprus, besieged Duke Lewes in the castle of Nicosia, and at length compelled him to depart, leaving his kingdome. So that this Bishop became againe King of this Iland: who shortly after cleaving to the Venetians having made a league of friendship with them, married by their consent one Catherina the daughter of Marco Cornaro, which Catherin the Senate of Venice adopted unto them soone after as their daughter. This Bishop not long after sickened, and died, leaving this his wife with child, who lived not long after his fathers death. By the which meanes the Venetians making themselves the next heires to Catherina by the law of adoption, tooke unto them the possession of this kingdome, and have kept and enjoyed the same almost this hundred yeeres. Now this great Turke called Sultan Selim in the right of the Soldan of Ægypt, whom his grandfather (called also Sultan Selim) conquered, pretendeth a right title unto it, and now, as you may understand by reading of this short Treatise, hath by conquest obtained the same. Whom I pray the everliving God, if it be his holy will, shortly to root out from thence.

To the Reader.

Am not ignorant (gentle Reader) how hard a matter it is for any one man to write that, which should please and satisfie all persons, we being commonly of so divers opinions and contrary judgements: againe Tully affirmeth it to be a very difficult thing, to finde out any matter which in his owne kinde may be in all respects perfect. Wherefore I trust by your owne judgement I ought of reason to be the sooner pardoned (my translation being precisely tied to mine authours meaning) if any thing heerein besides be thought to be wanting: I have learned by the way how comberous a thing it is to turne the selfesame matter out of the Italian language into our countrey speech. But who so doeth what he possibly can is bound to no more. And I now at the request of others (who put me in minde, that I was not onely borne unto my selfe) have accomplished that in the ende, which I promised and was required. With what paine and diligence, I referre me [II. i. 121.] to them which are skilfull in the Italian tongue, or may the better judge, if it please them to trie the same, casting aside this exampler. I speake it not arrogantly, I take God to witnesse: but mens painefull travels ought not lightly to be condemned: nor surely at any time are woont to be of the learned, or discreet. By whose gentle acceptation if these my present doings be now supported, I will perswade my selfe that I have reaped sufficient fruit of my travell. Unto whome with all my heart I wish prosperous successe in all their affaires.

Ann. Dom. 1572. W. M.

[In Turchas

In Turchas precatio.

SUmme Deus, succurre tuis, miseresce tuorum,
Et subeat gentis te nova cura tuæ.
Quem das tantorum finem, Rex magne, laborum?
In nos vibrabit tela quoúsque Sathan?
Antè Rhodum, mox indè Chium, nunc denique Cyprum,
Turcharum cepit sanguinolenta manus.
Mustafa fœdifragus partes grassatur in omnes,
Et Veneta Cypriam strage cruentat humum.
Nec finem imponit sceleri, mollitùe furorem,
Nec nisi potato sanguine pastus abit.
Qualis, quæ nunquam nisi plena tuménsque cruore
Sanguisuga obsessam mittit hirudo cutem.
Torturam sequitur tortura, cruorque cruorem,
Et cædem admissam cædis alîus amor.
Sævit inops animi, nec vel se temperat ipse,
Vel manus indomitum nostra domare potest.
At tu, magne Pater, tumidum disperde Tyrannum,
Nec sine mactari semper ovile tuum.
Exulet hoc monstrum, ne sanguine terra redundet.
Excutiántque novum Cypria regna jugum.
Et quod Christicolæ fœdus pepigere Monarchæ,
Id faustum nobis omnibus esse velis.
Tu pugna illorum pugnas, & bella secundes.
Captivósque tibi subde per arma Scythas.
Sic tua per totum fundetur gloria mundum,
Unus sic Christus fiet, & una fides.

Gulielmus Malim.

The true report of all the successe of Famagusta, made by the Earle Nestor Martiningo, unto the renowmed Prince the Duke of Venice.

THE sixteenth day of February, * 1571, the fleet which had brought the ayde unto Famagusta, departed from thence, whereas were found in all the army, but foure thousand footmen, eight hundred of them chosen souldiers, and three thousand (accounting the Citizens and other of the Villages) the rest two hundred in number were souldiers of Albania. After the arrivall of the which succour, the fortification of the City went more diligently forward of all hands, then it did before, the whole garison, the Grecian Citizens inhabiting the Towne, the Governours and Captaines not withdrawing themselves from any kinde of labour, for the better incouragement and good example of others, both night and day searching the watch, to the intent with more carefull heed taking they might beware of their enemies, against whom they made no sally out of the City to skirmish but very seldome, especially to understand when they might learne the intent of the enemies. Whilest we made this diligent provision within the Citie, the Turks without made no lesse preparation of all things necessary, fit to batter the fortresse withall, as in bringing out of Caramania and Syria with all speed by the Sea, many woollpacks, a great quantitie of wood and timber, divers pieces of artillery, engins, and other things expedient for their purpose.

* *In Italy and other places the date of the yere of ye Lord is alwayes changed the first of January, or on New yeres day, and from that day reckoned upon: although wee heere in England, especially the temporall lawyers for certaine causes are not woont to alter the same untill the Annunciation of our Ladie.*

At the beginning of April Halli Basha landed there with fourscore gallies or thereabout in his company, who brought thither that, which of our enemies was desired, who soone after departing from thence, and leaving behinde him thirty gallies, which continually transported souldiours, munition, fresh victuals, and other necessaries, [II. i. 122.]

besides a great number of * Caramusalins, or Brigandines, great Hulkes called * Maones, and large broad vessels termed of them * Palandrie, which continually passed to and fro betweene Cyprus and Syria, and other places thereabout, which they did with great speed, standing in feare of the Christian army. And about the middest of the same moneth the Turkes caused to be brought out of the Citie of Nicosia, which they had woone a little before, fifteene pieces of artillery, and raising their army from whence they were before, making ditches and trenches necessary, incamped themselves in gardens, and toward the West part of Famagusta neere a place called Precipola.

** Carumusalini be vessels like unto ye French Gabards, sailing daily upon the river of Bordeaux, which saile w^t a misen or triangle saile.*

** Maone be vessels like unto ye great hulks, which come hither from Denmarke, some of the which cary 7 or 8 hundred tunnes a piece, flat and broad, which saile some of them with seven misens a piece.*

** Palandrie be great flat vessels made like Feriboats to transport horse.*

Nicosia, otherwise called Licosia.

Sig. Bragadino was Proveditore, that is, Governour, and Sig. Baglione Generall of the Christian armie.

The five and twentieth day of the same moneth they raised up mounts to plant their artillery upon, and caused trenches to be made for harquebuzers, one very nigh another, approching still very neere the Citie, in such order, as was almost impossible to stay the same, fortie thousand of their Pioners continually labouring there the most part of all the night. The intent of the enemie being then knowen, and in what part of the Citie he minded most to plant his battery, we tooke diligent heed on the other part, to repaire and fortifie all places necessary within. For the which cause wee placed a great watch in that way, which was covered with a counterscharfe, and in the sallies of their privy Posternes, for the defence of the said counterscharfe, there were new flanckers made, also Traverses called Butterisses made upon the Cortaine, with one trench of Turves two foot high and broad, the which was made on that side of the wall of the Citie, which was already battered with the shot of the Turkes, with certaine loope holes for our Harquebuzers, by the which they defended the counterscharfe. Two noble personages Bragadino and Baglione personally tooke this charge on them, by the which meanes the Christian affaires passed in very good order. All the bread for our Souldiers was made in one storehouse, of the which the noble gentleman Lorenzo

Tiepolo captaine of *Baffo had charge, who refused no paine, where he thought his travell might prevaile. In the castle was placed that famous gentleman Andrea Bragadino, who with a diligent gard had charge on that part of the castle principally, next unto the sea side, trimming and digging out new flanckers for the better defence of the *Arsenall.

A valiant knight named Foito was appointed Master of the Ordinance, who was slain within few dayes after in a skirmish, whose garrison the noble Bragadino Provedi-tore before named presently delivered over to me. Three other captaines were appointed over the wilde-fire with twentie footmen for every one of them, chosen out of the armie, to use and execute the same as occasion should serve. The best pieces of Ordinance were brought foorth unto that side of the Towne, where the battery was looked for to be made: and they made privy fences to cover the better their cannon shot withall. There was no want in the Christians to annoy their enemies in issuing often out of every side against them, aswell to hinder their determinations, as to hurt them otherwise at divers times. They also rendered to us the like. For three hundred of the inhabitants of Famagusta one time issuing out of the citie, armed onely with their swords and targets, with so many Italian Harquebuzers also in their company, received great dammage, because the trenches of the enemies were made about so thicke, although at the same present wee compelled them to flie, and slew also many of them: yet they increased to such number, that they killed presently thirty, and hurt there threescore of our company. For the which cause order was taken, that our men should no more come forth of their holde, committing themselves to manifest perill to bid their enemies the base.

The Turkes in processe of time by little and little with their trenches, came at length to the toppe of the counter-scharfe, and having furnished their forts the nineteenth day of May, began their battery with ten forts, having

*Baffo of the ancient writers named Paphos, in the which Citie there was a sumptuous Church dedicated to Venus.

*Arsenall in Constantinople and Venice is the place for munition and artillery to lie in.

threescore and foureteene pieces of great artillary within their custody, amongst the which there were foure Basiliskes (for so they terme them) of an immeasurable greatnesse, and began to batter from the gate Limisso unto the Arsenall, and layed five batteries against the towne, the one against the great high Turret of the Arsenall, which was battered with five pieces of Ordinance mounted upon that fort of the rocke, the other against the Cortaine it selfe of the Arsenall, battered by one fort with eleven pieces: another against the Keepe of Andruzzi with two commanders, or cavaliers, which were above with one fort of eleven other pieces: another battery against the Turret of S. Nappa, the which was battered with foure Basilisks. The gate of Limisso, which had one high commander or cavalier alone, and a Brey and Cortaine without was battered by the forts with three and thirty pieces of artillery, whereas Mustafa himselfe Generall of the Turkes army tooke the charge in person. At the first they seemed not to care much to spoile the walles, but shot still into the city, [II. i. 123.] and against our Ordinance, which greatly galled them. Whereupon they, who were within the city, aswell our souldiours, as the Grecians, assoone as the battery began, withdrawing themselves, came and dwelt by the walles of the citie, whereas they continued from that time to the end of the siege. The noble Bragadino lodged in the Keepe of Andruzzi, Baglioni in that ward of S. Nappa. The honourable Tiepolo in that which was called Campo Santo. Wherefore they being present at all that was done, both encouraged, and punished the souldiers according to their deserts. The right worshipfull Luigi Martiningo was appointed chiefe over the Ordinance, who answering all mens expectation of him, with great courage divided the charge thereof unto sixe other inferiour captaines, who tooke order and care for that company, and for the provision of things necessary for the gunners: one company of the Grecians being appointed to every gate of the Citie for to attend upon

the service of the artillery. The valiant captaine Francesco Bagone warded at the Keepe, and at the great Commander of the Arsenall. Captaine Pietro Conte attended upon the Cortaine, at the Commander of the Volti, and at the Keepe of Campo Santo. I for my part attended upon the Commander of Campo Santo, and upon the Commander of Andruzzi, and of the Cortaine, unto the Turret of Santa Nappa. The Earle Hercole Martiningo attended upon the Commander of Santa Nappa, and to the whole Cortaine, unto the gate of Limisso. Horatio Captaine of Veletri attended upon the Brey and Cortaine toward the Bulwarke. Upon the high Commander of Limisso, which was more troubled then all the rest, attended the Captaine Roberto Malvezzi. At the same time, when the battery began (by the commission of the honourable Bragadino) victuals were appointed, and given to all the souldiers, aswell Grecians, as Italians, and Gunners : namely Wine, Pottage, Cheese, and Bakon : all the which things were brought to the walles as need did require in very good order, so that no souldier there spent any more in bread then two souses a day. They were payed at the end of every thirty dayes with the great travell of that right worshipfull Venetian gentleman M. Giovanni Antonio Querini, who besides this his ordinary charge was found present in all weighty and dangerous affaires to the great incouragement of our souldiours. And wee made a counterbattery against our enemies for ten dayes space, with so great rage, that we choked and destroyed fifteene of their best pieces, also we killed and dispatched of them about thirty thousand at that season, so that they were disappointed at that time of their battery in that place, and were greatly dismayed. But we foreseeing that we had no great store of powder left, there was made a restraint, and such order taken, that thirty pieces should not shoot off but thirty shot a piece every day, and that in the presence of the Captaines, who were still present, because the Souldiers and Gunners should not shoot off in vaine.

Two Venetian souses or Soldi amount but to one peny English.

The nine and twentieth day of May there came towards us from Candia a Fregat or Pinnace, the which giving us great hope and lightening of ayde, encreased marvellously every mans courage. The Turks with great travell and slaughter of both sides, had woonne at the last the counterscharfe from us, with great resistance and mortalitie on both parts. Whereupon they began on the other side of the fift battery to fill up the ditch, with the earth that they threw downe, which was taken neere the wall of the counterscharfe. But all that earth and falling downe of the wall made by the shot of their artillery, was caried away of us within the city, all our company labouring continually aswell by night as day, untill our enemies had made certaine loope-holes in the wall, thorow the which they flancking and scouring all the ditch with their harquebussie, stopped our former course of carying, or going that way any more, without certaine and expresse danger. But M. Giovanni Marmori, a fortifier, had devised a certaine kinde of joyned boords, the which being caried of the souldiers, defended them from the shot of the Harquebuzers, so that some other quantity of earth, but no great store, was caried also away: in the which place this foresayd fortifier was slaine, who had done especiall good service in all our necessary affaires. And our enemies having cast so much earth into the ditch, as filled it up againe, and made it a firme way to the wall of the counterscharfe, and casting before them the earth by little and little, they made one traverse even unto the wall on two sides in all their batteries, the which they made thicke and strong with woolpacks, and other fagots, to assure themselves the better of our flanckers.

When they had once possessed the ditch, that they could not be hurt of us but by chance, they began foorthwith to cast and digge out undermines to undermine the Brey, the Turret of Santa Nappa, the Commander of Andruzzi, the Keepe of Campo Santo, the Cortaine, and the Turrion of the Arsenall: so that being able no

longer to serve our turne injoy those fewe flanckers, we threw downe wilde-fire into our enemies campe, the which annoyed them very sore, because it fired their woolpacks, & also their fagots. And for the better encouragement of the souldiers, the right honorable Bragadino gave to every souldier one duckat, ye which could gaine or recover any of the former woolpackes, [II. i. 124.] making countermines in all places. To the which charge Maggio the fortifier knight was appointed, who in all our businesse served with such diligence and courage, as he was able, or was requisite. But the countermines met not, saving those of the Commander of S. Nappa, of Andruzzi, and that of Campo Santo, because they were open, and our men sallied out often both by day and night into the ditch to perceive better the way of the mines, and to fire the fagots and wooll. Nor we ceassed at any time through the unspeakable travell of the Lord Baglione (who had the oversight of all these matters) to trouble our enemies intents, by all maner of wit and policie, dividing the companies for the batteries, joyning and planting in all places a garrison of the *Albanois souldiours, who aswell on foot as on horse-backe, shewed alwayes notable courage and manhood.

** Albanois souldiers, souldiers of Albania, otherwise called Epirus, who commonly serve the Venetians both on horsebacke and foot, very skilfull & painfull.*

The first assault.

THe one and twentieth day of June they put fire to the mine of the Turret of the Arsenall, whereas Giambelat Bey tooke charge, who with great ruine rent in sunder a most great and thicke wall, and so opened the same, that he threw downe more then halfe thereof, breaking also one part of the vaimure, made before to upholde the assault. And suddenly a great number of the Turkes skipping upon the ruines thereof, displayed their Ensignes, even to the toppe of the same. Captaine Pietro Conte with his company was in that ward, the which was much shaken and terrified by that sudden ruine. I with my company came first thither, so that they shortly tooke the repulse, and although they re-

freshed themselves with new supplies five or sixe times, yet they failed of their purpose. There fought personally the Lord Baglione: Bragadino and Querini being armed stood not farre off to refresh and comfort our Souldiours, and the Captaine of the Castell with the Ordinance, that was planted upon the Butteries destroyed many of our enemies, when they gave ye assault, the which endured five houres together: so that of Turkes were slaine very many, and of our side betweene them that were slaine and hurt one hundred: most part of the which number were cast away by a mischance of our wilde-fire, the which being unadvisedly and negligently handled, burnt up many of our owne company. There died at that present the Earle Gio. Francesco Goro, the Captaine Barnardino Agubio: and by the throwing of stones Hercole Malatesta, Captaine Pietro Conte, with other Captaines and Standerdbearers, were very sore hurt.

Of this noble & painfull Venetian gentleman M. Gio. Antonio Querini (who was afterwardes hewen in sunder by the commandement of Mustafa) I was entertained very courteously in my travell at Corcyra, now called Corfu, he being then there Mag. Castellano or Capitaine of one of the Castles.

The night following arrived in Cyprus a Pinnasse from Candia, which bringing newes of most certaine ayde, greatly increased both the mirth and courage of us all, so that we made soone after, with the helpe of the Captaine Marco Crivellatore, and Maggio the knight, certaine retreats flancked to all the places beaten downe, and whereas they suspected that the enemy had digged up any mines, with Hogsheads, Chests, Tikes, and Sacks stuffed full of moist earth (the Grecians with all speed having already brought almost all that which they had) because they having dispatched their Canveis about necessary uses, they brought their hangings, cortaines, carpets, even to their very sheets, to make and stuffe up their foresayd sacks, a very good and ready way to make up againe their vaimures, the which were throwen downe with the fury of the artillery, which never stinted, so that we made up againe still that in the night, the which was throwen downe and broken in the day, sleeping very seldome: all the souldiers standing alwayes upon the walles, visited continually of the

In extremities men have no regard to spare trifles.

A TURKISH CARRAMUZZAL

Governors of the Citie, which slept at no time, but in the extreame heat of the day, having no other time to take their rest, because the enemie was at hand, giving us continually alarmes, not suffering us long to breath.

Provident & carefull governours or magistrates seldome sleepe all the night at any time, much lesse in dangerous seasons.

The second assault.

THe nine and twentieth day of the same moneth they set the mine made towards the Brey on fire, the which mine was digged in stone, which brake and cleft all things in pieces, and caused great ruine, making an easie way for the enemy to assault us, who with an outragious fury came to the toppe, whereas Mustafa their Generall was altogether present, which assault was received, and stayed at the beginning of the Earle Hercole Martiningo with his garrison, and so were repulsed by our company, who fought without any advantage of covert, the vaimure being throwen downe by the mine. There were slaine of our company Captaine Meani the Sergeant Major of our armie, Captaine Celio de Fuochi, Captaine Erasmo da Fermo: and Captaine Soldatello, Antonio d'Ascoli, Captaine Gio. d'Istria, Standerd bearers, with many other officers, were sore wounded, there died also 30 other of our common souldiers. At the Arsenall they were beaten backe with greater dammage of our enemies, and small hurt to us. Five onely of our part being slaine there, whereas Captaine Giacomo de Fabriano also was killed, and I was wounded in my left legge with an harquebush shot. The which assault continued sixe houres, the Bishop of Limisso standing up there, incouraging the Souldiours. Where also were found present stout women, who came thither with weapons, stones, and water, to helpe the Souldiours. Our enemies understanding how great hinderance they had received at these two assaults, changed their mindes, and began againe with greater fury then ever they had before accustomed to lay

A small thing at the beginning, or in due time done, helpeth much.

[II. i. 125.]

That certaine women inhabating this Iland be viragos, or mankind, I saw sufficient triall at my last being there, in a city called Saline.

battery to all places, and into our retreats, so that they labouring more speedily then ever they did, made seven other forts more, under the castle, and taking away the artillery from them which were farther off, planting of it somewhat neerer, to the number of fourescore, they battered the holde with so great rage, that on the eighth day of July, with the same night also were numbred five thousand Canon shot, and after that sort they overthrew to the ground the vaimures, that scarsely with great travell and paine we could repaire them againe, because our men that laboured about them were continually slaine by their Ordinance, and by reason of the endlesse tempest of the shot of their Harquebuzers. And our men beganne to decrease. For the Turkes caused us to retire from our Breyes, by the violence of their artillery and mining, in such sort, that there being no more standing left for our Souldiours, because we making our vaimures more thicke, our standing began to waxe narrower, the which presently we of necessitie enlarged with boords as a scaffolde to the vaimure, whereby we might have more elbow roome to fight. Captaine Maggio also made one mine under the said Brey, to the intent, that we being not able any longer to keepe it, the same might be left to our enemies to their great hinderance.

It is accounted a good warlike shift, to leave that to our enemies with hinderance, which we can not any longer keepe, and use to our owne commodity.

The third assault.

TO the said Brey the ninth day of July they gave the third assault, to the Turrion of Santa Nappa, to that of Andruzzi, to the Cortaine, to the Keepe of the Arsenall: the which assault having continued more then sixe houres, they were beaten backe in foure places, but we left the Brey to their great losse, and ours also: because we being assaulted, our company being not able to mannage their Pikes in good order, by reason of the narrownesse of the standing where they were, being willing to retire in that order, as the L. Baglione had prescribed unto them, and could not,

cast themselves at the last into a confuse order, and retired, they being mingled amongst the Turkes: so that fire being given to our mine, the same (with a terrible sight to beholde) slew presently of our enemies more then one thousand, and above one hundred of us. There was slaine Roberto Malvezzi, and Captaine Marchetto de Fermo was grievously wounded. At the assault of the Arsenall was slaine Captaine David Noce master of the Campe, & I my selfe was hurt by the racing of a Cannon shot. This assault continued five houres, and the Citizens of Famagusta shewed great courage in every place, with their women also, and yoong striplings. The Brey was so defaced by reason of this mine set on fire, that no body any more attempted to recover the same: because there was no apt place remaining to stay upon. The left flancker onely remained still, whereas another mine was made. The gate of Limisso was over against this foresayd Brey, and somewhat lower, which was alwayes open, having made to the same a Portall, with a Percollois annexed to it, the which Percollois by the cutting of a small cord, was a present defence to the gate, and our Souldiours gave their attendance by that gate to bring in the battered earth, which fell in the ditches from the rampaire: and when they saw that their enemies in foure dayes came not thither, they beganne to entrench above the Brey, and by the flanckers above they suffered no person to passe out of the gate, the which thing brought great suspition unto our enemies, because they were often times assailed of our company.

The forwardnes of the captaine at dangerous times not only much comforteth the common souldier, but also increaseth greatly his credit & commendation w^t all men.

The fourth assault.

WHerefore they came the foureteenth day of July to assault the gate of Limisso, and laying their battery to all other places, they came and planted their Ensignes even before the gate, whereas the L. Baglione, and Sig. Luigi were in readinesse, who had taken upon

them to defend that gate of the Citie. Who assoone as they had encouraged their Souldiours, sallying swiftly foorth, killed, and put to flight the greater part of them, and at the last giving fire to the mine of the flancker slew foure hundred Turkes, and Sig. Baglione at the same time woon an Ensigne of our enemies, wrasting it violently out of one of the Ensigne bearers hands. The day following they gave fire to the mine of the Cortaine, the which thing not
[II. i. 126.] falling out greatly to their purpose, they followed not their prepared assault. Wherefore they beganne to fortifie, and advance higher their traverses in the ditches, for their better assurance against they should give the assault: and they had emptied and carried away all the earth neere unto the counterskarfe, where they lodged in their pavillions, so that we could not descrie them. They shot seven pieces of artillery upon the wall of the counterscharfe so covertly, that they were not seene: two from the Brey of the Turrion of Santa Nappa, one from Andruzzi, and two other all along the battery of the Cortaine. And they came with certaine boordes covered with rawe and greene hides, under which they brought their men to digge in the vaimures, we being nothing behinde or forgetfull to cast wilde-fire amongst them, and sometime to issue foorth of our sallies called Posternes, to offend their Pioners, although to our great hinderance. And we still repaired the vaimures by all meanes possible, with Buffe skinnes, being moist and wet, throwing in also earth, shreads, and cotton with water, being well bound together with cordes: all the women of Famagusta gathering themselves together into companies in every street (being guided of one of their Monkes called Caloiero) resorted dayly to a certaine place appointed, to labour, gathering and providing for the souldiers, stones and water, the which was kept for all assaults in halfe buts to quench the fire, which the Turks threw amongst them.

Having had no great successe in taking of the gate, they found out a newe way, never heard of before, in gathering together a great quantitie of certaine wood called Teglia, which easily burned, and smelt very evill, the which they throwing before the former gate of the Citie, and fagots fastened to the same, with certaine beames besmeered with Pitch, kindled suddenly so great a fire, as was not possible for us to quench the same, although we threw upon it whole Buts of water, which were throwen downe from an high Commander, which Buts presently brake in sunder.

Teglia in Latine called Teda is a certaine wood which burneth easily, and savoreth unpleasantly, of the which there is great store in Sicilia: sometime it is used for a torch.

This fire continued foure dayes, wherefore we were inforced by reason of the extreame heat and stinch, to withdraw our selves further inward, and they descending towardes their lower flanckers, beganne other mines, so that the gate was shut up, because it could be no longer kept open, and suddenly (a thing marvellous to be spoken) the standing of the Brey being repaired, and made up againe, they planted one piece over against the gate, the which of us with stones, earth and other things, was suddenly buried up. By this time we were driven to an exigent, all our provision within the Citie stooping very lowe, saving onely hope, the noble courage of the Governours and Captaines, and the stout readinesse of the Souldiours: our wine, and flesh as well powdered as unpowdered was spent, nor there was any Cheese to be gotten, but upon an unreasonable price, our company having eaten up their Horses, Asses, and Cats, for lacke of other victualls: there was nothing left to be eaten, but a small quantitie of Bread, and Beanes, and we dranke water and Vineger together, whereof was not much left. When that we perceived that our enemies had digged and cast up three mines in the Commander of the gate, they labouring in all places more diligently then ever they did before, bringing into the ditch, over against the battery of the Cortaine, a hill of earth, as high as the wall: and already they came to the wall above the Counterscharfe over against the Turrion of the Arsenall,

No necessarie thing to bee done was left unattempted on either part.

Mans courage oft abateth, but hope seldome forsaketh. Saguntina fames.

and had made one Commander complete, fenced with shares, like unto plough shares, in proportion and height correspondent to ours.

Within the Citie were remaining but five hundreth Italian Souldiours, who were not hurt, yet very faint and weary by their long watching and paines in fighting in those fervent and burning heates, which are in those parts. And the greater and better part also of the Grecians were by this time slaine, whenas the chiefe of those Citizens remaining did fully resolve themselves (the which was about the twentieth day of July) to present a supplication in writing to that noble gentleman Bragadino Proveditore, desiring and beseeching him, that seeing their Citie and Fortresse was thus battered and brought to extremitie, without sufficient ayde to defend the same, without substance or sustenance, having no hope of succour, or any newe supply, they having spent and consumed not onely their goods, but also their lives for the defence of them, and in testifying of their dutifull service towardes the noble and royall state of the Segniorie of Venice, that it might nowe please him, and the rest of the honourable Governours, that were present, and put in trust, having a carefull eye unto some honourable conditions, to have now at the last a respect to the credit and honour of their long travelled wives, and the safegard of their poore children, which otherwise were shortly very like to be a pray to their bloudthirsting and ravening enemies. To the which letter or supplication speedy answere was made by the forenamed honourable Bragadino, comforting them, that they should by no meanes abate their courage, and that shortly he looked for succour from the Segniorie, diminishing as much as hee might, the feare which they had conceived in their hearts, dispatching and sending away suddenly from Cyprus into Candia, a Pinnesse to certifie the duke and governours there, in what extremitie they were. The Turkes by this time had ended their mines, and set them on fire, the 29. of July: in the which space our men, according as they

In July the heat is so extreme in this Iland, that the inhabitants thereof are not woont to travell, but by night onely.

A letter or supplication exhibited by the Cypriottes unto Sig. Bragadino.

The answere of the former letter.

[II. i. 127.]

were woont to doe, renued and made up againe the vaimures ruined before by the Ordinance, and having no other stuffe left to advaunce them with, made sackes of Kersie, unto the which the noble Tiepolo diligently looked. The three mines of the Commander did great damage to us, having throwen downe the greater part of the earth, whereas the governour Randacchi was slaine. The mine of the Arsenall overthrew all the rest of the Turrion, having smoldered and choked one whole garrison of our souldiers, the two flanckers onely still remaining.

It standeth with reason, in hope of saving the greater, to let the lesser go.

The fift assault.

THe enemies travelled much to become masters of those foresayd flankers, and to sally foorth by the other batteries, and this assault lasted from three of the clocke in the after noone until night, where, and at what time were slaine very many of our enemies. In this assault Sig. Giacomo Strambali, amongst the rest, shewed much worthinesse, as hee had done before in other conflictes.

The sixt and last assault.

THe next morning following, at the breake of the day, they assailed all places, the which assault continued more then sixe houres, with very little hurt on our side, because our enemies fought more coldly then they were wont to doe, annoying of us continually on the Sea side with their Gallies, shooting in all their assaults and batteries continually Cannon shot in all parts of the Citie, as neere as they might. After we had defended and repulsed this assault, and perceived things brought to a narrower straite then they were wont to be at, wee having left in all the whole Citie but seven barrels of pouder, the governours of the Citie fully determined to yeelde up themselves and the Citie, with honourable conditions. Wherefore the first of August in the after noone, they tooke a truce, one

Necessitie oft times presseth us in the end to that, which our will continually spurneth against.

being come for that purpose from Mustafa the Generall, with whom they concluded the next morning following to give two hostages a piece, untill such time as both armies were agreed. For our hostages (by the appointment of the right honourable Bragadino) were sent foorth the earle Hercole Martinengo, and Signior Matteo Colsi a Citizen of Famagusta, and from our enemies came into the Citie the Lieutenant of Mustafa, and the Aga of the Giannizzers, the which were met, even unto the gate of the Citie, of Signiour Baglione with two hundreth harquebusers: ours also were met in like maner with great pompe with horsemen and harquebusers, with the sonne also of Mustafa in person, who made very much of them.

Giannezeri be the gard of the great Turke, so that Aga de Giannizeri is the captaine of the Turkes gard.

The Lord Baglione imparld with these hostages, which were then come for that purpose of the articles of peace, requiring by them of their Generall, their lives, armour, and goods, five peeces of Ordinance, three of the best horses, and safe passage from thence unto Candia accompanied with their Gallies, and last of all, that the Grecians inhabiting the Island, might dwell there still quietly, and enjoy peaceably their owne goods and possessions, living still Christians hereafter, as they had done before. All the which requests and articles were agreed upon, granted, and subscribed unto by the hand of Mustafa. Foorthwith were sent Gallies, and other vessels into the haven, so that our souldiers immediatly began to imbarke themselves, of the which the greater part were already gone aboorde, the Nobilitie and our chiefe Captaines also being likewise very desirous to depart.

Just Turkish dealing, to speake and not to meane: sodainly to promise, and never to perform the same.

The 15. of August in the morning, the worthy Bragadino sent me with a letter unto Mustafa, by the which hee signified, that the same night hee would come unto him to deliver up the keyes of the Citie, and that he would leave in the holde the honourable gentleman Tiepolo, praying him therefore, that whilest hee should have just cause thus to bee abroad, that there might be

no harme done at home, and in the Citie. The Turkes from our truce taking untill that time, practised with us all familiarly, and without any suspition of sinister or double dealing, they having shewed us much courtesie both in word and deede. Mustafa himselfe by worde of mouth presently answered me to this letter, in this sort, that I should returne, and make relation to this noble man Bragadino, who had sent mee, that he should come over to him at his owne pleasure, for hee was very desirous both to see and know him, for his great worthinesse and prowesse, that hee had tried to be in him, and in the other of his Captaines and Souldiers, of whose manhood and courage he would honourably report, where soever he came, as occasion should serve thereunto: and to conclude, that hee should nothing doubt of any thing: because in no maner of condition hee would suffer any violence to be done to those, which remained behind within the Citie. So I speedily returning made true report of the same: and towards night about foure of the clocke, the right honourable Bragadino accompanied with the L. Baglione, with Signior Aluigi Martinengo, with the right worshipfull Signior Gio. Antonio Querini, with the right worshipfull Signior Andrea Bragadino, with the knight of Haste, with the captaine Carlo Ragonasco, with captaine Francesco Straco, with captaine Hector of Brescia, with captaine Girolomo di Sacile, and with other gentlemen and fiftie souldiours, the Governours and Noble men with their swordes, and the souldiours with their harquebuzes came foorth of their hold, and went unto the pavillion of Mustafa, of whom, all they at the beginning were curteously received, and caused to sit downe by him, he reasoning and discoursing with them of divers things, a certaine time, and drawing them from one matter to another, at the last upon a sudden picked a quarell unto them, especially burdening that noble Bragadino with an untrueth, laying to his charge y^t^ he had caused certaine of his slaves in the time that the truce continued betweene them, to be put to death. The [II. i. 128.]

which thing was most false. So that hee being angry therewith, suddenly stept foorth, and commaunded them to bee bound. Thus they being unarmed (not suffered at that time to enter into his pavillion, with their former weapons) and bound, were led one by one into the market place, before his pavillion, being presently cut and hewen in sunder in his presence, and last of all from that woorthy and noble Bragadino (who being bound as the rest, and being commaunded twise or thrise to stretch foorth his necke, as though hee should have bene beheaded, the which most boldly hee did without any sparke of feare) his eares were cut off, and causing him to bee stretched out most vilely upon the ground, Mustafa talked with him, and blasphemed the holy name of our Saviour, demaunding him, where is now thy Christ, that hee helpeth thee not? To all the which no answere at all was given of that honourable gentleman. The earle Hercole Martinengo, which was sent for one of the hostages, who was also bound, was hidden by one of Mustafas eunuches untill such time as his furie was past, afterward his life being graunted him, hee was made the eunuches slave. Three Grecians which were under his pavillion were left untouched. All the souldiers which were found in the campe, and all sortes of Christians to the number of three hundred, were suddenly slaine, they nothing mistrusting any such treason, or tirannie. The Christian souldiers which were embarked a litle before, were linked and fettered with iron chaines, made slaves, all things being taken from them, and stripped into their shirtes.

The propertie of true fortitude is, not to be broken with sudden terrors.

Mustafa, cosin germaine to ye thiefe, which hong on the left side of our Saviour at his Passion.

The second day after this murther was committed, which was the 17. of August, Mustafa entred the first time into the Citie, and caused the valiant and wise governour Tiepolo to bee hanged, who remained behind, waiting the returne of Signior Bragadino. I being in the citie at that present, when other of my countreymen were thus miserably slaine and made slaves, hid my selfe in certaine of the Grecians houses the space of five dayes,

and they not being able to keepe mee in covert any longer for feare of the great penaltie, which was proclaimed agaynst such transgressors and concealers, I offred, and gave my selfe slave to one Sangiaccho del Bir, promising him five hundred *Zechins for my ransome, with whom I remained in the Campe. The Friday folowing (being the Turkes sabboth day) this woorthy and pacient gentleman Bragadino was led still in the presence of that unfaithfull tirant Mustafa, to the batteries made unto the Citie, whereas he being compelled to cary two baskets of earth, the one upon his backe, the other in his hand slave-like, to every sundry battrie, being enforced also to kisse the ground as oft as he passed by him, was afterward brought unto the sea side, where he being placed in a chaire to leane and stay upon, was winched up in that chaire, and fastened unto the maineyard of a galley, and hoisted up with a crane, to shew him to all the Christian souldiours and slaves (which were in the haven already shipped) hee being afterward let downe, and brought to the market place, the tormenters tooke of his clothes from him, and tacked him unto the pillorie, whereas he was most cruelly flaied quicke; with so great constancie and faith on his part, that he never lost or abated any jot of his stedfast courage, being so farre from any fainting, that hee at that present with most stout heart reproched them, and spake much shame of his most traiterous dealing in breaking of his faithfull promise. At the last without any kind of alteration of his constancie, he recommending his soule unto almightie God, gave up the ghost. When hee had thus ended his life (thanks be to God) his skin being taken and filled with strawe, was commaunded foorthwith to be hanged upon the bowsprit of a *Foist, and to be caried alongst the coast of Syria by the sea side, that all the port townes might see, and understand who he was.

This is now so much as I am able to declare to your highnesse by that I sawe my selfe, and can remember

Zechini, be certaine pieces of fine gold coined in Venice, every one of the which is in value sixe shillings eight pence of our mony, & somewhat better: & equal altogether to a Turkish Byraltom.

His death answerable to his former life.

A Foist is as it were a Brigandine, being somewhat larger then halfe a galley, much used of the Turkish Cursaros, or as we call them Pirates or Rovers.

whilest that I was in the Fortresse: that also which by true relation of others I could understand, and sawe also my selfe in the campe, whilest I was slave, I will likewise briefly utter unto you. The enemies armie was in number two hundred thousand persons of all sortes and qualities. [II. i. 129.] Of souldiers which tooke pay there were 80. thousand, besides the which number, there were 14. thousand of Giannizzers taken out from all the holdes of Syria, Caramania, Natolia, and part of them also which came from the * gate of the great Turke. The venturers with the sword were 60. thousand in number. The reason, why there were so many of this sort, was because Mustafa had dispersed a rumour through the Turkes dominion, that Famagusta was much more wealthy and rich, then the citie of Nicosia was: so for that cause, and by the commodious and easie passage from Syria over into Cyprus, these venturers were easily induced to come thither. In 75. dayes (all the which time the batterie still continued) 140. thousand iron pellets were shot of, numbred, and seene. The chiefe personages which were in their armie neere unto Mustafa, were these following: the Bassa of Aleppo, the Bassa of Natolia, Musafer Bassa of Nicosia, the Bassa of Caramania, the Aga of the Giannizzers, Giambelat * Bey, the Sangiaccho of Tripolis, the * Begliarbei of Greece, the Bassa of Scivassi and of Marasco, Ferca Framburaro, the * Sangiaccho of Antipo, Soliman Bey, three Sangiacchos of Arabia, Mustafa Bey generall of the Venturers, Fergat governour of Malathia, the Framburaro of Diverie, the Sangiaccho of Arabia and other Sangiacchos of lesser credite, with the number of fourescore thousand persons besides, as by the muster made by his Commission might well appeare.

The Framburaro which was at Rhodes, was appointed and left governour at Famagusta, and the report was that there should bee left in all the Island of Cyprus, twentie thousand persons, with two thousand horses, many of the which I saw, being very leane and evill appoynted for

** The gate of the great Turke, is as much to say, as Constantinople: the which they call in the Turkish language Stanboli.*

Gli Venturieri da spada, are a kind of venturing souldiers, who commonly are wont to follow the army in hope of the spoile.

Aleppo, a famous citie neere unto Antiochia, otherwise called in Greeke, ἡλιόπολις, the city of the Sunne.

** Bey in ye Turkish language, signifieth knight with us.*

service. It seemeth also a thing not impertinent to the matter, to signifie to you, how I, by the especiall grace of God, was delivered out of their cruel hands, I having paied within two & fortie dayes (all the which time I was slave) five hundred Zechins for my ransome to him, whose prisoner I was, by the meanes of the Consul for the French merchants, a ligier then at Tripolis, who a litle before came from Tripolis in Syria unto Cyprus, into the Turkes campe. Yet for all that I had paied this summe of money to him, hee would not so set me at libertie, but fed mee up still with faire wordes, and promised mee that hee would first bring mee unto his governement, which abutted upon a piece of the famous river of Euphrates, and afterward dismisse me. The which malice and falsehood of his I perceiving, determined with my selfe to give him the slip, and to flie ; so I waiting my time, and repairing often to the Citie, at length met with a small Fisher boate, of the which a poore Grecian was Owner and master, with whom in one night with two onely oares and a small saile made of two shirts, I passed over from Cyprus unto Tripolis, being in very great danger of drowning, whereas I remained in covert in the house of certaine Christians, untill the five and twentie of September, at what time I departed from thence in a little French shippe called Santa Vittor, which came into these partes, and as wee rode, wee touched at a part of Cyprus Westward, called Capo delle Gatte, where as I came on land, and talking with certaine of the inhabitants of the Villages, who were then by chaunce a Hauking, demaunded of them, how they were intreated of the Turkes, and after what sort the Island was tilled : to the which they answered, that they could not possiblie bee in worse pickle then they were at that present, not enjoying that quietly which was their owne, being made villaines and slaves, and almost alwayes carying away the Bastonados, so that now (they sayd) they knew by triall too perfectly the pleasant and peaceable government of the Christians, wishing and praying God that they might

* *Begliarbei signifieth lord Admirall.*

* *Sangiaccho, is that person w^t^ the Turkes, that governeth a province or countrey.*

God suffereth much to be done to his servants, but never forsaketh them.

Necessitie oft times sharpeneth mens wits, & causeth boldnes.

The nature of every commoditie is sooner understood by lacking, then by continuall enjoying of the same.

shortly returne. And concerning the tillage of the Island they made answere moreover, that no part of it was plowed or laboured, saving onely that mountaine which was towards the West, and that because they were litle troubled with the crueltie of the Turkes, but as for the plaine and East part of the Island, there was small seede sowen therein, but became in a maner desert, there being left but few inhabitants, and lesse store of cattell there. Afterward wee departing from thence arrived in * Candia, I for my part being clothed in sackecloth, whereas soone after by the great curtesie of the right honourable Signior Latino Orsino, I was new apparelled accordingly, friendly welcommed, and my necessitie relieved. From whence I shortly after sayling in a Cypriottes ship (thankes be to almightie God) arrived in this Citie in health, and am safely come home now at the honorable feete of your highnesse.

** Candia, of the old writers called Creta in latin, Εκατόμπολις in Greek, because it had once a 100. Cities in it, now there remaining but onely 4. thus commonly named, Candia, la Cania, Retima, and Scythia.*

[II. i. 130.]

The Captains of the Christians slaine in Famagusta.

THe lord Estor Baglione.
The lord Aluigi Martinengo.
The lord Federico Baglione.
The knight of Asta Vicegovernor.
The capitaine David Noce Master of the Campe.
The capitaine Meani of Perugia Serjeant Major.
The earle Sigismond of Casoldo.
The earle Francesco of Lobi of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Troncavilla.
The captaine Hannibal Adamo of Fermo.
The captaine Scipio of the citie of Castello.
The captaine Charles Ragonasco of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Siraco.
The captaine Roberto Malvezzo.
The captaine Cæsar of Adversa.
The captaine Bernardin of Agubio.
The captaine Francesco Bugon of Verona.
The captaine James of Fabiano.

The captaine Sebastian del Sole of Florence.
The captaine Hector of Brescia, the successour to the captaine Cæsar of Adversa.
The captaine Flaminio of Florence, successor unto Sebastian del Sole.
The captaine Erasmus of Fermo, successor to the captaine of Cernole.
The captaine Bartholomew of Cernole.
The captaine John Battista of Rivarole.
The captaine John Francesco of Venice.

The names of Christians made slaves.

THe Earle Herocles Martinengo, with Julius Cæsar Ghelfo a Souldiour of Bressa.
The earle Nestor Martinengo, which fled.
The captaine Marco Crivellatore.
The lord Herocles Malatesta.
The captaine Peter Conte of Montalberto.
The captaine Horatio of Veletri.
The captaine Aluigi Pezano.
The Conte James of Corbara.
The captaine John of Istria.
The captaine Soldatelli of Agubio.
The captaine John of Ascoli.
The captaine Antonie of the same towne.
The captaine Sebastian of the same towne.
The captaine Salgano of the citie of Castello.
The captaine Marcheso of Fermo.
The captaine John Antonio of Piacenza.
The captaine Carletto Naldo.
The captaine Lorenzo Fornaretti.
The captaine Barnardo of Brescia.
The captaine Barnardino Coco. [David Noce.
The captaine Simon Bagnese, successour to the captaine
The captaine Tiberio Ceruto, successor unto Conte Sigismond.
The captaine Joseph of Lanciano, successour unto captaine Francesco Troncavilla.

The captaine Morgante, successor to captain Hannibal.
The Lieutenant, successour unto the captaine Scipio.
The Standerdbearer, successour to captaine Roberto.
The captaine Ottavio of Rimini, successour to the captaine Francesco Bugon.
The captaine Mario de Fabiano, successour to captaine Jacomo.
The captaine Francesco of Venice, successour unto captaine Antonio.
The captaine Matteo of Capua.
The captaine John Maria of Verona.
The captaine Mancino.

The Fortifiers.

John Marmori, slaine.
The knight Maggio, slave.

Turkish Captaines at Famagusta.

MUstafa Generall.
The Bassa of Aleppo.
The Bassa of Natolia, slaine.
Musafer Bassa of Nicosia.
The Bassa of Caramania.
The Aga of the Giannizers.
Giambelat Bey.
The Sangiaccho of Tripolis, slaine.
The Begliarbei of Greece.
[II. i. 131.] The Bassa of Scivassi and Marasco.
Ferca Framburaro.
The Sangiaccho of Antipo, slaine.
Soliman Bey, slaine.
Three Sangiacchos of Arabia, slaine.
Mustafa Bey, General of the Venturers, slain.
Fergat, ruler of Malathia, slaine.
The Framburaro of Diverie, slaine.

The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe an Englishman in delivering 266. Christians out of the captivitie of the Turkes at Alexandria, the 3. of Januarie 1577.

AMong our merchants here in England, it is a common voiage to traffike into Spaine: whereunto a ship, being called The three halfe Moones, manned with 38. men, and well fensed with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withall, and having wind & tide, set from Portsmouth, 1563. and bended her journey toward Sivill a citie in Spaine, intending there to trafique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceived themselves to be beset round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in such wise, that there was no way for them to flie or escape away, but that either they must yeeld or els be sunke. Which the owner perceiving, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to shew their manhood, shewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requesting them also not to faint in seeing such a heape of their enemies ready to devour them; putting them in mind also, that if it were Gods pleasure to give them into their enemies hands, it was not they y^t^ ought to shew one displeasant looke or countenance thereagainst; but to take it patiently, & not to prescribe a day and time for their deliverance, as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themselves under his mercy. And againe, if it were his mind and good will to shew his mighty power by them, if their enemies were ten times so many, they were not able to stand in their hands; putting them likewise in mind of the old and ancient woorthinesse of their countreymen, who in the hardest extremities have alwayes most prevailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath bene almost impossible. Such (quoth he) hath

John Foxe taken 1563.

bene the valiantnesse of our countreymen, and such hath bene the mightie power of our God.

With other like incouragements, exhorting them to behave themselves manfully, they fell all on their knees making their prayers briefly unto God: who being all risen up againe perceived their enemies by their signes and defiances bent to the spoyle, whose mercy was nothing els but crueltie, whereupon every man tooke him to his weapon.

Then stood up one Grove the master, being a comely man, with his sword and target, holding them up in defiance agaynst his enemies. So likewise stood up the Owner, the Masters mate, Boateswaine, Purser, and every man well appointed. Nowe likewise sounded up the drums, trumpets and flutes, which would have encouraged any man, had he never so litle heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge John Foxe the gunner in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect, and sending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewise bestowed their pieces thrise as fast toward the Christians. But shortly they drew neere, so that the bowmen fel to their charge in sending forth their arrowes so thicke amongst the Gallies, & also in doubling their shot so sore upon the gallies, that there were twise so many of the Turkes slaine, as the number of the Christians were in all. But the Turks discharged twise as fast against the Christians, & so long, that the ship was very sore stricken & bruised under water. Which the Turkes perceiving, made the more haste to come aboord the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it deerely with the losse of their lives. Yet was all in vaine, and boorded they were, where they found so hote a skirmish, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feast. For the Englishmen shewed themselves men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bils and halbardes: where the owner, master, boateswaine, and their company stoode to it so

lustily, that the Turkes were halfe dismaied. But chiefly the boateswaine shewed himself valiant above the rest: for he fared amongst the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durst stand in his face, till at the last there came a shot from the Turkes, which brake his whistle asunder, and smote him on the brest, so that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, & to be of good comfort, encouraging them likewise to winne praise by death, rather then to live captives in misery and shame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to have done, as it appeared by their skirmish: but the prease and store of the Turkes was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but were so overpressed, that they could not wield their weapons: by reason whereof, they must needs be taken, which none of them intended to have bene, but rather to have died: except onely the masters mate, who shrunke from the skirmish, like a notable coward, esteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the present example of his fellowes, nor having respect to the miseries, whereunto he should be put. But in fine, so it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cause to rejoyce, or triumph. Then would it have grieved any hard heart to see these Infidels so violently intreating the Christians, not having any respect of their manhood which they had tasted of, nor yet respecting their owne state, how they might have met with such a bootie, as might have given them the overthrow: but no remorse hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tirannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs to the gallies, to serve in new offices: and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled over their eares, and torne from their backes, and they set to the oares.

The valour & death of their Boatswaine.

[II. i. 132.]

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now under their enemies raging stripes. I thinke there is no man wil judge their fare good, or their bodies unloden of stripes, and not pestered with too much heate, and

also with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpose, which is, to shew the ende of those, being in meere miserie, which continually doe call on God with a stedfast hope that he will deliver them, and with a sure faith that he can doe it.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a haven towne, and under the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very fensible with strong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe customably bring their gallies on shoare every yeere, in the winter season, and there doe trimme them, and lay them up against the spring time. In which road there is a prison, wherein the captives & such prisoners as serve in the gallies, are put for all that time, untill the seas be calme and passable for the gallies, every prisoner being most grievously laden with irons on their legges, to their great paine, and sore disabling of them to any labour taking. Into which prison were these Christians put, and fast warded all the Winter season. But ere it was long, the Master and the Owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the rest abiding still by the miserie, while that they were all (through reason of their ill usage and worse fare, miserably starved) saving one John Fox, who (as some men can abide harder and more miserie, then other some can, so can some likewise make more shift, and worke more devises to helpe their state and living, then other some can doe) being somewhat skilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reason thereof made great shift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Insomuch, til at the last, God sent him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, so that he had leave to goe in and out to the road, at his pleasure, paying a certaine stipend unto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his leg: which libertie likewise, sixe more had upon like sufferance: who by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would worke the Turkes any mischiefe, had libertie to go in and out at the sayd road, in such maner, as this John Fox

The Englishmen caried prisoners unto an Haven nere Alexandria.

did, with irons on their legs, and to returne againe at night.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the Winter season, the gallies happily comming to their accustomed harborow, and being discharged of all their mastes, sailes, and other such furnitures, as unto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Masters and mariners of them being then nested in their owne homes: there remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had bene taken by the Turks force, and were of sixteen sundry nations. Among which there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named John Foxe of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portsmouth, in the Countie of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Essex. Which John Fox having bene thirteene or foureteene yeres under their gentle entreatance, and being too too weary thereof, minding his escape, weighed with himselfe by what meanes it might be brought to passe: and continually pondering with himself thereof, tooke a good heart unto him, in hope that God would not be alwayes scourging his children, and never ceassed to pray him to further his pretended enterprise, if that it should redound to his glory.

Not farre from the road, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the Citie, there was a certaine victualling house, which one Peter Unticaro had hired, paying also a certaine fee unto the keeper of the road. This Peter Unticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Christian, and had bene prisoner about thirtie yeeres, and never practised any meanes to escape, but kept himselfe quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracie: untill that nowe this John Foxe using much thither, they brake one to another their mindes, concerning the restraint of their libertie and imprisonment. So that this John Fox at length opening unto this Unticaro the devise which he would faine put in practise, made privie one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter

at such times as they could compasse to meete together: insomuch, that at seven weekes ende they had sufficiently concluded how the matter should be, if it pleased God [II. i. 133.] to farther them thereto: who making five more privie to this their devise, whom they thought they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same John Fox, and Peter Unticaro, and the other sixe appointed to meete *The last of December.* all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December: where this John Fox certified the rest of the prisoners, what their intent and devise was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to passe: who thereunto perswaded them without much a doe to further their devise. Which the same John Fox seeing, delivered unto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meanes of Peter Unticaro, charging them that every man should be readie discharged of his yrons by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

Januarie. On the next day at night, this said John Fox, and his sixe other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Unticaro, passing the time away in mirth for feare of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practise their devise, sent Peter Unticaro to the master of the roade, in the name of one of the Masters of the citie, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the paines to meete him there, promising him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speede.

In the meane season, the other seven had provided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and John Fox tooke him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serve his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in steed

of a pomell, and the other had got such spits and glaives as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come unto the house, and perceiving no light, nor hearing any noyse, straightway suspected the matter: and returning backward, John Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped foorth unto him: who perceiving it to be John Fox, saide, O Fox, what have I deserved of thee, that thou shouldest seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my handes: wherewith he lift up his bright shining sword of tenne yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as therewithall his head clave a sunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Unticaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stood with the keeper: who came presently foorth, and some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaives hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discerne what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, whereinto they entered softly, where were six warders, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there? quoth Fox & his company, all friendes. Which when they were all within, proved contrary: for, quoth Fox, my masters, here is not to every man a man, wherefore looke you play your parts. Who so behaved themselves in deede, that they had dispatched these sixe quickly. Then John Fox intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to worke surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a Canon against it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keyes of the fortresse & prison by his bed side, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in duckats, which this Peter Unticaro, & two more, opening, stuffed themselves so full as they could, betweene their shirts and their skinne: which John Fox

would not once touch, and sayde, that it was his and their libertie which he sought for, to the honour of his God, & not to make a marte of the wicked treasure of the Infidels. Yet did these words sinke nothing into their stomakes, they did it for a good intent: so did Saul save the fattest Oxen, to offer unto the Lord, and they to serve their owne turne. But neither did Saul scape the wrath of God therefore, neither had these that thing which they desired so, and did thirst after. Such is Gods justice. He that they put their trust in, to deliver them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies, he (I say) could supply their want of necessaries.

Nowe these eight being armed with such weapons as they thought well of, thinking themselves sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemie, and comming unto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called forth all the prisoners, whom he set, some to ramming up the gate, some to the dressing up of a certaine gallie, which was the best in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto some caried mastes, sailes, oares, and other such furniture as doth belong unto a gallie.

At the prison were certaine warders, whom John Fox and his companie slewe: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceived them, and got them to the toppe of the prison: unto whom John Fox, and his company, were faine to come by [II. i. 134.] ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were there slaine, some wounded, and some but scarred, and not hurt. As John Fox was thrise shot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Unticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckats, were slaine, as not able to weild themselves, being so pestered with the weight and uneasie carying of the wicked and prophane treasure: and also diverse Christians were aswell hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slaine.

Amongst the Turkes was one thrust thorowe, who (let us not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe

ALEXANDRIA, vetustissimum Ægypti emporium, Amplissima ciuitas, ab Alexandro magno condita muris, turribus et propugnaculis ea forma, qua hoc depicta videtur, ante Christi aduentum, Annis CCC.XX. construcita fuit, magnifica olim, et nunc quoque benè munita conspicitur, sed intra moenia ruinis, et ruderib. plena. Magnitudine Lutetiæ Parisiorum respondet.

Lacus Meotis seu Mareotis aquæ dulcis amplissimus: et admodum pisculentus, distans ab vrbe medio miliari italico.

Nilus flu. per canales vrbem transfluens, puteos ac cisternas replens, idem exundat. Alexandrinos eisdem toto anno infruit.

ALEXANDRIA.

Porta Nili.

Porta delpore.

Columna Pompei in pro a Cæsare erecta, incredibilis et spissitudinis ex lapidib. Tra obeliscis in ciuitate.

Porte du Caire

Bassar

MOSQVE

Obeliscus

Domus Alexandri Magni.

Sylua palmarum, ad vsum ignium, et medullæ, quæ per vrbe venalis est.

Pharus

Guardia

Canophalo.

MEDITERRANEVM MARE

of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stoode a house or two) came and dawed him, so that they understood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransomes: wherewith they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the roade, and a Castle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and also an other Fortresse which lay on the Northside of the roade: so that nowe they had no way to escape, but one, which by mans reason (the two holdes lying so upon the mouth of the roade) might seeme impossible to be a way for them. So was the red sea impossible for the Israelites to passe through, the hils and rockes lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed them on the other. So was it impossible, that the wals of Jericho should fall downe, being neither undermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wisedome, pollicie, or helpe set or put thereunto. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. He that helde the Lyons jawes from renting Daniel asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold the roring canons of this hellish force? He that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Oven, from the three children, that praised his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blastes from among his elect?

Now is the roade fraught with lustie souldiers, laborers, and mariners, who are faine to stand to their tackling, in setting to every man his hand, some to the carying in of victuals, some munitions, some oares, and e one thing, some another, but most are keeping the nemie from the wall of the road. But to be short, there was no time mispent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill bestowed, or in vaine. So that in short time, this gally was ready trimmed up. Whereinto every man leaped in all haste, hoyssing up the sayles lustily, yeelding themselves to his mercie and grace, in whose hands are both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on flote, and out of the safetie of the

roade: now have the two Castles full power upon the gally, now is there no remedy but to sinke: how can it be avoided? The canons let flie from both sides, and the gally is even in the middest, and betweene them both. What man can devise to save it? there is no man, but would thinke it must needes be sunke.

There was not one of them that feared the shotte, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with five & forty shot, which came from the Castles. Here did God hold foorth his buckler, he shieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the uttermost. Now commeth his speciall helpe: yea, even when man thinks them past all helpe, then commeth he himselfe downe from heaven with his mightie power, then is his present remedie most readie prest. For they saile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish canons reach. Then might they see them comming downe by heapes to the water side, in companies like unto swarmes of bees, making shew to come after them with gallies, in bustling themselves to dresse up the gallies, which would be a swift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, mastes, sailes, gables, nor any thing else ready in any gally. But yet they are carying them into them, some into one gally, and some into another, so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to overtake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amasednes amongst them. And verely I thinke their God was amased thereat: it could not be but he must blush for shame, he can speake never a word for dulnes, much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremitie. Well, howsoever it is, he is very much to blame, to suffer them to receive such a gibe. But howsoever their God behaved himselfe, our God shewed himselfe a God indeede, and that he was the onely living God: for the seas were swift under his faithfull, which

made the enemies agast to behold them, a skilfuller Pilot leades them, and their mariners bestirre them lustily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, Pilot, nor any skilfull Master, that was in a readinesse at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies coast, John Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull unto almighty God for their deliverie, and most humbly to fall downe upon their knees, beseeching him to aide them unto their friends land, and not to bring them into an other daunger, sith hee had most mightily delivered them from so great a thraldome and bondage.

Thus when every man had made his petition, they fell straight way to their labour with the oares, in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour striving to come to some Christian land, as neere as they could gesse by the starres. But the windes were so divers, one while driving them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a new maze, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And forasmuch as there were no victuals now left in the gally, it might have beene a cause to them (if they had beene the Israelites) to have murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God, who had delivered them out of Ægypt, was such a loving and mercifull God, as that hee would not suffer them to be confounded, in whom he had wrought so great a wonder: but what calamitie soever they sustained, they knew it was but for their further triall, and also (in putting them in mind of their farther miserie) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselves therefore. Having (I say) no victuals in the gally, it might seeme that one miserie continually fel upon an others neck: but to be briefe, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest. [II. i. 135.]

Extremity of famine.

So it fell out, that upon the 29 day, after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot

John Fox his sword kept as a monument in Gallipoli.

and Monks there, who caused them to stay there, while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sworde, wherewith John Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious jewell, and hung it up for a monument.

When they thought good, having leave to depart from thence, they sayled along the coast, till they arrived at Tarento, where they solde their gallie, and devided it, every man having a part thereof. The Turkes receiving so shamefull a foile at their hand, pursued the Christians, and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bent their course. And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seven gallies of the Turkes came thither that night, as it was certified by those who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing least they should have bene met with. And then they came a foote to Naples, where they departed a sunder, every man taking him to his next way home. From whence John Fox tooke his journey unto Rome, where he was well entertayned of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deede unto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gave him his letters unto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his most worthy enterprise gave him in fee twentie pence a day. From whence, being desirous to come into his owne countrie, he came thither at such time as he conveniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1579. Who being come into England, went unto the Court, and shewed all his travell unto the Councell: who considering of the state of this man, in that hee had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thraldome and bondage, extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the incouragement of all true hearted Christians.

The copie of the certificate for John Fox, and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

WE the Prior, and Fathers of the Covent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe testifie, that upon the 29 of January last past, 1577, there came in to the said citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Christians, whereof was principal Master John Fox, an Englishman, a gunner, and one of the chiefest that did accomplish that great worke, whereby so many Christians have recovered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, upon our earnest request to the same John Fox, he hath left here an olde sworde, wherewith he slewe the keeper of the prison: which sword we doe as a monument and memoriall of so worthy a deede, hang up in the chiefe place of our Covent house. And for because all things aforesaid, are such as we will testifie to be true, as they are orderly passed, and have therefore good credite, that so much as is above expressed is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforesaide, have ratified and subscribed these presents. Geven in Gallipoly, the third of Februarie 1577.

I Frier Vincent Barba, Prior of the same place, confirme the premisses, as they are above written.

I Frier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirme as much.

I Frier Anthony Celleler of Gallipoly, confirme as aforesaid.

I Frier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as above said.

I Frier Francis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

[The Bishop

[II. i. 136.] The Bishop of Rome his letters in the behalfe of John Fox.

BE it knowen unto all men, to whom this writing shall come, that the bringer hereof John Fox Englishman, a Gunner, after he had served captive in the Turkes gallies, by the space of fourteene yeeres, at length, thorough God his helpe, taking good oportunitie, the third of Januarie last past, slew the keeper of the prison, (whom he first stroke on the face) together with foure and twentie other Turkes, by the assistance of his fellow prisoners: and with 266. Christians (of whose libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arrived first at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwardes at Tarento in Apulia: the written testimony and credite of which things, as also of others, the same John Fox hath in publike tables from Naples.

Upon Easter eve he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his journey to the Spanish Court, hoping there to obtaine some reliefe toward his living: wherefore the poore distressed man humbly beseecheth, and we in his behalfe do in the bowels of Christ, desire you, that taking compassion of his former captivitie, and present penurie, you doe not onely suffer him freely to passe throughout all your cities and townes, but also succour him with your charitable almes, the reward whereof you shall hereafter most assuredly receive, which we hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pitie wee commende unto you. At Rome, the 20 of Aprill 1577.

Thomas Grolos Englishman Bishop of Astraphen.
Richard Silleum Prior Angliæ.
Andreas Ludovicus Register to our Soveraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credit of the premises, have set my seale to these presents. At Rome, the day and yeere above written.
Mauricius Clement the governour and keeper of the English Hospitall in the citie.

The King of Spaine his letters to the Lieutenant, for the placing of John Fox in the office of a Gunner.

TO the illustrious Prince, Vespasian Gonsaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of our Realme of Valentia. Having consideration, that John Fox Englishman hath served us, and was one of the most principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie, which they have brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie, and eight Christian captives: we licence him to practise, and give him the office of a Gunner, and have ordained, that he goe to our said Realme, there to serve in the said office in the Gallies, which by our commandement are lately made. And we doe commaund, that you cause to be payed to him eight ducats pay a moneth, for the time that he shall serve in the saide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwise provide for him, the saide eight duckats monethly of the money which is already of our provision, present and to come, and to have regarde of those which come with him. From Escuriall the tenth of August, 1577.

I the King.

Juan del Gado.

And under that a confirmation of the Councell.

The renuing and increasing of an ancient and commodious trade unto diverse places in the Levant seas, and to the chiefest partes of all the great Turks dominions, by the meanes of the Right worsh. citizens Sir Edward Osburne Alderman, and M. Richard Staper marchant of London.

THis trade into the Levant (as is before mentioned, page 96 of this present volume, whereunto I referre the Reader) was very usuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1511, till the yeere 1534, and afterward also, though not so commonly,

untill the yeere 1550, when as the barke Aucher under the conduct of M. Roger Bodenham made a prosperous voyage unto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Levant. Since which time the foresaid trade (notwithstanding the Grand Signiors ample privilege granted [II. i. 137.] to M. Anthony Jenkenson 1553, and the strong and weighty reasons of Gaspar Campion for that purpose) was utterly discontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had never bene, for the space of 20 yeares and more. Howbeit the discreete and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper seriously considering what benefite might grow to the common wealth by renuing of the foresaid discontinued trade, to the inlarging of her Majesties customes, the furthering of navigation, the venting of diverse generall commodities of this Realme, and the inriching of the citie of London, determined to use some effectuall meanes for the reestablishing and augmenting thereof.

The voyage of John Wight, and Joseph Clements to Constantinople.

Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foresaid R. W. marchants at their charges and expenses sent John Wight and Joseph Clements by the way of Polana to Constantinople, where the said Joseph remained 18 monethes to procure a safe conduct from the grand Signior, for M. William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to have free accesse into his Highnes dominions, and obtained the same.

The first voyage of M. William Harborne to Constantinople.

Which businesse after two yeres chargeable travell and suit being accomplished, the sayd M. Harborne the first of July 1578 departed from London by the sea to Hamburgh, and thence accompanied with Joseph Clements his guide and a servant, he travailed to Leopolis in Poland, and then apparelling himselfe, his guide, and his servant after the Turkish fashion (having first obteyned the king of Poland his safe conduct to passe at Camienijecz the frontier towne of his dominions next unto Turky) by good means he obteined favour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambassadour then in Poland, and readie to returne to Constantinople, to bee received into his com-

panie and carovan. And so the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the said Acmet from Leopolis in Poland, and travelling through Moldavia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania, gratifying the Voiavodes with certaine courtesies, he arrived at Constantinople the 28 of October next insuing. Where he behaved himselfe so wisely and discreetely, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priviledge for himselfe, and the two worshipfull persons aforesaid, but also procured his honourable and friendly letters unto her Majestie in maner following.

The letters sent from the Imperiall Musulmanlike highnesse of Zuldan Murad Can, to the sacred regall Majestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteyning the grant of the first privileges.

IN greatnes and glory most renowmed Elizabeth, most sacred Queene, and noble prince of the most mightie worshippers of Jesus, most wise governor of the causes and affaires of the people and family of Nazareth, cloud of most pleasant raine, and sweetest fountaine of noblenesse and vertue, ladie & heire of the perpetuall happinesse & glory of the noble Realme of England (whom all sorts seeke unto and submit themselves) we wish most prosperous successe and happie ends to all your actions, and do offer unto you such pleasures and curtesies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as best beseemeth us) our former salutations.

In most friendly maner we give you to understand, that a certaine man hath come unto us in the name of your most excellent Regall Majestie, commending unto us from you all kindnesse, curtesie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall

highnesse would vouchsafe to give leave and libertie to him and unto ‖ two other merchants of your kingdome, to resort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be suffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like sort to make their returne.

‖ *These two were Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper.*

Our stately Court and Countrey hath beene ever open for the accesse both of our enemies and friends. But because we are informed that your most excellent Regall Majesty doth abound with good will, humanitie, & all kind of loving affection towards us, so much the rather shall the same our Countrey be alwayes open to such of your subjects, as by way of merchandize shall trade hither : and we will never faile to aide & succor any of them that are or shal be willing to esteeme of our friendship, favour, & assistance: but will reckon it some part of our dutie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highnesse is given to understand that your most excellent Regall Majestie doth excell in bountie & curtesie, we therfore have sent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, judges, and travellers by sea, to all our Captaines and voluntarie seafaring men, all condemned persons, and officers of Ports and customes, straightly charging and commanding them, that such foresaid persons as shall resort hither by [II. i. 138.] sea from the Realme of England, either with great or small vessels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man shall dare to molest or trouble them. And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horseback, no man shall at any time withstand or hinder them : but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the ‖ king of Germany, with divers other our neighbours about us, have libertie to come hither, & to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort the marchants of your most excellent Regall Majesties kingdome shall have safe conduct and leave to repayre

‖ *He calleth the Germaine emperor but king of Germanie.*

hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their own Country: straightly charging that they be suffered to use and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Christians doe, without let or disturbance of any.

Therefore when these our Imperiall letters shall be brought to your most excellent Regall Majestie, it shall be meet, according to our benevolence, humanity, and familiarity towards your most excellent Majesty, that you likewise bethinke your selfe of your like benevolence, humanitie and friendshippe towards us, to open the gate thereof unto us, and to nourish by all good meanes this kindnesse and friendship: and that like libertie may be granted by your Highnesse to our subjects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by sea with their ships, or by land with their wagons or horses, and to returne home againe: and that your most excellent Regall Majestie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendship towards us, and alwayes keepe open the dore thereof unto us.

The Turke demandeth like privileges for his subjects in the Queenes dominions.

Given at our citie of Constantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our most holy Prophet Mahomet ‖ 987.

‖ *With us the yeere* 1579.

The answere of her Majestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke, sent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Master Richard Stanley.

ELIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, & unici cœli terræque Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regina, fidei Christianæ contrà omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, & Christi nomen falsò profitentium Idololatrias invictissima & potentissima Defensatrix, augustissimo, invictissimoque principi Sultan Murad Can, Turcici regni dominatori potentissimo, Imperiique

orientis, Monarchæ supra omnes soli & supremo, salutem, & multos cum rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices, & fortunatos annos. Augustissime & invictissime Cæsar, accepimus invictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis literas, die decimoquinto Martii currentis anni ad nos scriptas Constantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quàm benignè quàmque clementer, literæ supplices quæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudini a quodam subdito nostro Guilielmo Hareborno in Imperiali Celsitudinis vestræ civitate Constantinopoli commorante offerebantur, literæ profectionis pro se & sociis ejus duobus hominibus mercatoribus subditis nostris cum mercibus suis ad terras ditionesque Imperio vestro subjectas tam per mare quàm per terras, indeque reversionis veniæ potestatisque humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab invictissima vestra Cæsarea celsitudine, acceptæ fuerunt. Neque id solùm, sed quàm mira cum facilitate, dignaque augustissima Cæsarea clementia, quod erat in dictis literis supplicibus positum, ei sociisque suis donatum & concessum fuit, pro ea, uti videtur, solùm opinione, quam de nobis, & nostra amicitia vestra celsitudo concepit. Quod singulare beneficium in dictos subditos nostros collatum tam gratè tamque benevolè accepimus (maximas celsitudini vestræ propterea & agentes, & habentes gratias) nullo ut unquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum nostrarum ratione, proque ea quam nobis insevit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem & cujus auspiciis regnamus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotissimas nos esse voluit, & abhorrentes ab ingratitudinis omni vel minima suspitione, docuitque nullorum unquam ut principum, ullis in nos meritis nos sineremus vinci, aut superari, ut apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium deposuisse, se vestra Celsitudo existimet. Proptereaque animum nostrum inpræsentiarum vestræ celsitudini emetimur, benè sentiendo & prædicando, quantopere nos obstrictas beneficii hujus in subditos nostros collati putemus memoriâ sempiternâ : longè uberiorem, & ampliorem gratitudinis erga vestram celsitudinem nostræ testificationem daturæ, cum tempora

incident, ut possimus & à nobis desiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ nostris paucis subditis, eaque suis ipsorum precibus, sine ulla intercessione nostra concessa donatio est, in æquè libera potestate sita est ad omnes terras ditionesque Imperio vestro subjectas, cum mercibus suis tam per mare quàm per terras eundi & redeundi, atque invictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis confœderatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atque adeo regis Romanorum subditis largita unquam aut donata fuit, celsitudinem [II. i. 139.] vestram rogamus ne tam singularis beneficentiæ laus in tam angustis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, sed ad universos subditos nostros diffusa, propagatáque, celsitudinis vestræ beneficium eò reddat augustius, quò ejusdem donatio latiùs patebit, & ad plures pertinebit. Cujus tam singularis in nos beneficii meritum, eò erit celsitudini vestræ minùs pœnitendum, quò sunt merces illæ, quibus regna nostra abundant, & aliorum principum ditiones egent, tam humanis usibus commodæ támque necessariæ, nulla gens ut sit, quæ eis carere queat, proptereaque longissimis, difficillimisque itineribus conquisitis non vehementer gaudeat. Cariùs autem distrahunt aliis, quo ex labore suo quísque victum & quæstum quæritat, adeo ut in earum acquisitione utilitas, in emptione autem ab aliis onus sit. Utilitas celsitudinis vestræ subditis augebitur liberâ hac paucorum nostrorum hominum ad terras vestras profectione : onus minuetur, profectionis quorumcúnque subditorum nostrorum donatione. Accedet præterea quæ à nobis in celsitudinis vestræ subditos proficiscetur, par, æquáque mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties & quando voluerint ad regna dominiáque nostra mercaturæ gratia accedere. Quam celsitudini vestræ pollicemur tam amplam latéque patentem fore, quám est ulla â confœderatorum vestrorum ullis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet Romanorum, Gallorum, Polonorum, ac republica Veneta, celsitudinis vestræ subditis ullo unquam tempore concessa & donata. Qua in re si honestæ petitioni nostræ invictissima Cæsarea

vestra celsitudo dignabitur auscultare, faciétque ut acceptis nostris literis intelligamus gratum nè habitura sit quod ab ea contendimus & rogamus, ea proposita præstitáque securitate, quæ subditos nostros quoscúnque ad dominia sua, terra, marique proficiscentes, indéque revertentes tutos & securos reddat ab omni quorumcúnque subditorum suorum injuria, efficiemus, ut quæ Deus opt. max. in regna dominiáque nostra contulit commoda (quæ tam singularia sunt, omnium ut principum animos pelliceant ad amicitiam, summæque necessitudinis conjunctionem nobiscum contrahendam, stabiliendámque quo liberius tantis summi Dei beneficiis fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) nostri subditi ad regna dominiáque Celsitudinis vestræ advehant tam affluenter támque cumulate, ut utríque incommodo prædicto necessitatis & oneris plenissimè succurratur. Facit prætereà singularis ista Celsitudinis vestræ in nos Gentémque nostram summæ benevolentiæ significatio ac fides, ut eandem, in causam quorundam subditorum nostrorum, qui captivi triremibus vestris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemúsque, ut quoniam nullo in celsitudinem vestram peccato suo, sivè arma in eam ferendo, sivè iniquiùs præter fas & jus gentium se gerendo in suos subditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, soluti vinculis, & libertate donati, nobis pro sua fide & obsequio inservientes, causam uberiorem præbeant vestræ Celsitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandi: & Deum illum, qui solus, & supra omnia & omnes est acerrimus idololatriæ vindicator, suíque honoris contra Gentum & aliorum falsos Deos Zelotes, præcabimur, ut vestram invictissimam Cæsaream Celsitudinem omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, quæ sola & summè jure merito habentur desideratissima.

Datæ è Regia nostra Grenovici, prope civitatem nostram Londinum, quintodecimo Mensis Octobris, Anno Jesu Christi Salvatoris nostri 1579, Regni verò nostri vicesimo primo.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and onely Creatour of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kinde of idolatries, of all that live among the Christians, and falsly professe the Name of Christ, unto the most Imperiall and most invincible prince, Zuldan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, sole and above all, and most sovereigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the best things.

Most Imperiall and most invincible Emperour, wee have received the letters of your mightie highnesse written to us from Constantinople the fifteenth day of March this present yere, whereby we understand how gratiously, and how favorably the humble petitions of one William Hareborne a subject of ours, resident in the Imperial citie of your highnes presented unto your Majestie for the obteining of accesse for him and two other Marchants more of his company our subjects also, to come with marchandizes both by sea and land, to the countreis and territories subject to your government, and from thence againe to returne home with good leave and libertie, were accepted of your most invincible Imperiall highnesse, and not that onely, but with an extraordinarie speed and worthy your Imperiall grace, that which was craved by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as it seemeth) of that opinion which your highnesse conceived of us and our amitie: which singular benefit done to our aforesaid subjects, wee take so thankefully, and in so good part (yeelding for the same our greatest thanks to your highnesse) that we will [II. i. 140.] never give occasion to your said highnesse (according as time, and the respect of our affaires will permit) once to thinke so great a pleasure bestowed upon an ungratefull Prince. For the Almighty God, by whom, and by whose

grace we reigne, hath planted in us this goodnesse of nature, that wee detest and abhorre the least suspition of ingratitude, and hath taught us not to suffer our selves to bee overmatched with the good demerits of other Princes. And therefore at this time wee doe extende our good minde unto your highnesse, by well conceiving, and publishing also abroad, how much we repute our selfe bound in an everlasting remembrance for this good pleasure to our Subjects, meaning to yeelde a much more large and plentifull testification of our thankefulnesse, when time convenient shall fall out, and the same shall bee looked for at our handes.

But whereas that graunt which was given to a fewe of our Subjects, and at their onely request without any intercession of ours, standeth in as free a libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdoms subject to your Majestie, both by land & sea with marchandizes, as ever was granted to any of your Imperiall highnesse confederates, as namely to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as also to the subjects of the king of the Romanes, wee desire of your highnesse that the commendation of such singular courtesie may not bee so narrowly restrained to two or three men onely, but may be inlarged to all our subjects in generall, that thereby your highnesse goodnesse may appeare the more notable, by reason of the graunting of the same to a greater number of persons. The bestowing of which so singular a benefit your highnesse shall so much the lesse repent you of, by howe much the more fit and necessary for the use of man those commodities are, wherewith our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of other princes doe want, so y^{t} there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult travels: and when they have them, they sell them much deerer to others, because every man seeketh to make profite by his labour: so that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is losse.

But this profite will be increased to the subjects of your highnesse by this free accesse of a few of our subjects to your dominions, as also the losse and burden wilbe eased, by the permission of generall accesse to all our people. And furthermore we will graunt as equall and as free a libertie to the subjects of your highnesse with us for the use of traffique, when they wil, and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and from us and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promise to your highnesse shalbe as ample, and as large as any was ever given or granted to your subjects by the aforesaide princes your confederats, as namely the king of the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In which matter, if your most invincible Imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe to incline to our reasonable request, and shall give order upon these our letters, that wee may have knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and whether it wilbe granted, with sufficient securitie for our subjects to go, and returne safe and secure from all violences and injuries of your people, we on the other side wil give order, that those commodities which Almighty God hath bestowed upon our kingdomes (which are in deed so excellent, that by reason of them all princes are drawen to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with us, by that meanes to enjoy these so great blessings of God, which we have, and they can in no case want) our subjects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highnesse, that both the former inconveniences of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Moreover the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to us and our nation, doeth cause us also to intreat and use mediation on the behalfe of certaine of our subjects, who are deteined as slaves and captives in your Gallies, for whom we crave, that forasmuch as they are fallen into that misery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your high-

nesse, or in behaving of themselves contrary to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be delivered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their service towardes us, according to their duetie: which thing shall yeeld much more abundant cause to us of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is above all things, and all men, and is a most severe revenger of all idolatrie, and is jelous of his honour against the false gods of the nations) to adorne your most invincible Imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those gifts, which onely and deservedly are accounted most worthy of asking.

Given at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our Citie of London, the five and twentieth day of October, in the yeere of Jesus Christ our Saviour one thousand, five hundreth, seventie and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.

[II. i. 141.] The charter of the privileges granted to the English, & the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Majestie in respect of traffique, dated in June 1580.

IMmensa & maxima ex potestate potentissimi, terribilibúsque verbis & nunquam finienda innumerabilive elementia & ineffabili auxilio sanctissimi & pura mente colendissimi tremendissimíque universitatum creatoris, princeps temporum præsentium, unicus modernæ ætatis monarcha, totius orbis terrarum potentibus sceptra dividere potens, clementiæ, gratiæque divinæ umbra, regnorum provinciarumve, & urbium civitatumve distributor permultarum: Nos sacratissimus Cæsar Muzulmanicus, Mecchæ, id est domus divinæ, Medinæ, gloriosissimæ & beatissimæ Jerusalem, Aegypti fertilissimæ, Jemen & Zovan, Eden & Canan, Sami paciferæ & Hebes, Jabza & Pazra, Zeruzub & Hale-

piæ, Caramariæ & Diabekirvan, & Dulkadiriæ, Babyloniæ, & totius triplicis Arabiæ, Euzorum & Georgianorum, Cypri divitis, & regnorum Asiæ, Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi & nigri, Græciæ & Mesopotamiæ, Africæ & Goletæ, Algeris & Tripolis occidentalis, selectissimæque Europæ, Budæ, & Temeswar, & regnorum transalpinorum, & his similium permultorum princeps Cæsarve sacerrimus, potentissimus Murad Can, filius principis Zelim Can, qui fuit Zoleiman Can, qui fuit Zelim Can, qui fuit Paiezid Can, qui fuit Mehemed Can, &c.

Nos princeps potentissimus Murad Can hoc in signum nostræ Cæsareæ amicitiæ significamus, manifestamus, quòd in temporibus modernis Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Elizabetha in Christianitate honoratissima Regina (cujus mercatorum exitus sit fœlicissimus) ad nostram excelsam, & justitiæ plenam, fulgidissimámve portam, quæ omnibus principibus mundi est refugium & requies, per egregium Gulielmum Harebornum literas misit suas, quibus sua majestas significavit, quod tempore præterito quidam subditi sui venissent ad nostram portam excelsam, & suam obedientiam erga eam demonstravissent, & ob eam causam illis quoque ad nostras ditiones mercandi gratia venire & redire poscerent, venia & potestas fuisset data: & quòd in locis & hospitiis eorum per mare & terram nemo auderet impedire & illis damnum facere, mandatum Cæsareum fuisset datum: & quòd hanc nostram gratiam, quam paucis hominibus suæ majestatis demonstravissemus, universis suis subditis concederemus, petebat. Quare, quemadmodum cum serenissimis benevolentiam & obedientiam, servitiáve sua demonstrantibus erga nostram portam excelsam regibus & principibus confœderatis (ut sunt rex Gallorum, Veneti, & rex Polonorum, & cæteri) pacem & fœdus sanctissimum pepigimus: sic etiam cum præfata Regina amicitiam custodiendam, pacem & fœdus conjunximus. Illius igitur homines, & universi mercatores,

Fœdus Turcici Imperatoris cum Regina initum.

sine aliquo impedimento cum suis mercibus & oneribus cunctis ad nostras ditiones Cæsareas pacificè & securè veniant, & suam exerceant mercaturam, maneant in suis statibus, & secundum suos mores negocientur. Et adhæc, sua majestas significabat ex hominibus suis aliquos jamdudum captos fuisse, & in captivitate detineri, & quòd hi dimitterentur petebat, & quòd sicut aliis principibus nobiscum confœderatis privilegia & mandata Cæsarea super fœdus sanctissimum dedissemus, sic præfatæ quoque Reginæ privilegium & mandata Cæsarea ut daremus, nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudini placeret. Quare secundùm nostram benevolentiam & gratiam innatam, optata suæ majestatis apud nos grata fuere: Et hoc nostrum privilegium justitiis plenum dedimus majestati suæ: Et Beglerbegis, Zanziacbegis famulis nostris, & Kaziis, id est, judicibus, & omnibus teloniatoribus omnium locorum, portuum, & vadorum firmiter mandamus, ut donec ex parte præfatæ reginæ fœdus, & pax, & eorum conditiones articulíque (ut convenit) custodiuntur & servantur, nostræ quóque Cæsareæ celsitudinis mandata sunt:

Articuli hujus privilegii.

1 Ut præfatæ Reginæ homines, & subditi ejus quibusvis rebus & mercibus, oneribus & suppellectilibus per mare in magnis & parvis navibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus & pecoribus, securè & pacificè ad nostras ditiones Cæsareas veniant, & nemo illis noceat, sed securè & sine aliquo impedimento negocientur, & in suis statibus & conditionibus permaneant.

2 Item, si præfati homines & mercatores in suis rectis viis & negociationibus aliquo modo caperentur, sine aliqua tergiversatione dimittantur liberentúrque.

3 Item, si naves eorum ad aliquos portus & loca venire voluerint, pacificè omni in tempore, & sine impedimento veniant, & discedant in sua loca.

4 Item, si in tempestatibus maris naves eorum essent in periculo & auxilio opus esset illis, naves nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudinis, earúmque homines, & aliorum naves hominésque statim auxilium & opem ferant illis, mandamus.

5 Item, si edulia suis pecuniis emere voluerint, nemo resistat illis, sed sine impedimento edulia emant. [II. i. 142.]

6 Item, si infortunium maris naves eorum in terram projecerit, Begi & judices, & cæteri nostri subditi sint auxilio illis, merces & res eorum quæ remanserint iterum reddantur illis, & nemo impediat illos.

7 Item, si præfatæ reginæ homines, eorum interpretes, & mercatores, sive per terram, sive per mare mercandi gratiâ ad nostras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, & vectigali reddito, pacificè vagentur, capitanei & reges maris & navium, & aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in personis, & rebus eorum, pecoribúsque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut ære alieno esset obstrictus, inveniríque non possit, ratione debitorum alterius nullus nisi esset fidejussor capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item, si Anglus testamentum fecerit, & sua bona cuicúnque legaverit, illi dentur bona illius, & si sine testamento moreretur, consul eorum cuicúnque sociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari, illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item, si Angli, & ad Angliam pertinentium locorum mercatores & interpretes, in vendendis & emendis mercibus fidejussionibus & rebus aliquid negocii habuerint, ad judicem veniant, & in librum inscribi faciant negotium, & si voluerint, literas quóque accepiant à judice, propterea quòd si aliquid inciderit, videant librum & literas, & secundùm tenorem eorum perficiantur negocia eorum suspecta: si autem néque in librum inscriberentur, néque literas haberent, judex falsa testimonia non admittat, sed secundùm justitiam legem administrans non sinat illos impediri.

11 Item, si aliquis diceret, quod isti Christiani nostræ fidei Muzulmanicæ male dixerint, & eam vituperiis affecerint, in hoc negocio etiam & aliis, testes falsi minimè admittantur.

12 Item, si aliquis eorum aliquod facinus patraret,

& fugiens non possit inveniri, nullus nisi esset fidejussor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, si aliquod mancipium Anglicum inveniretur, & consul eorum peteret illud, examinetur diligenter mancipium, & si inventum fuerit Anglicum, accipiatur, & reddatur Anglis.

14 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratiâ, sive sit uxoratus, sive sit sine uxore, non solvat censum.

15 Item, si in Alexandria, in Damasco, in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli occidentali, in Aegypti portubus & in aliis omnibus locis, ubicúnque voluerint facere Consules, faciant: Et iterum si voluerint eos mutare, & in loco priorum consulum alios locare, liberè faciant, & nemo illis resistat.

16 Item, si illorum interpres in arduis negotiis occupatus abesset, donec veniret interpres, expectetur, & interim nemo illos impediat.

17 Item, si Angli inter se aliquam litem haberent & vellent ad suos consules ire, nemo resistat illis, sed liberè veniant ad Consules suos, ut secundùm mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item, si post tempus aut datum hujus privilegii, piratæ, aut alii aliqui liberi gubernatores navium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint, & trans mare vel cis mare venderint, secundùm justitiam examinetur: & si Anglus inventus fuerit, & religionem Muzulmanicam assumpserit, liberè dimittatur: si autem adhuc esset Christianus, Anglis reddatur, & emptores suam pecuniam ab illo petant, à quo emerant.

19 Item, si nostræ Cæsareæ Celsitudinis naves armatæ exiverint ad mare, & ibi invenerint naves Anglicas merces portantes, nemo impediat illas, imò amicè tractentur, & nullum damnum faciant illis: Quemadmodum Gallis, Venetis, & cæteris nobiscum confœderatis regibus, & principibus privilegium, & articulos privilegiis dedimus, & concessimus, simili modo his quóque Anglis privilegium & articulos privilegiis dedimus & concessimus,

& contra legem divinam, & hoc privilegium, nemo unquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item, si naves magnæ, & parvæ in itinere & loco ubi stant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire, sed potiùs auxilio sint illis.

21 Item, si latrones & fures vi raperent naves illorum, naviúmque merces, magna diligentia quærantur latrones & fures, & severissimè puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Beglerbegii, & Zanziacbegi, Capitanei nostri, Mancipia, & per mare navigantes servi Capitaneorum, & Judices, & Teloniatores, & Gubernatores navium Reiz dicti, & liberi Reiz, omnes isti præfati, secundùm tenorem hujus privilegii, tenorémve articulorum ejus, omnia facere teneantur, & debeant. Et donec hoc in privilegio descriptum fœdus, & pax illius Majestatis ex parte sanctè servabitur, & custodietur, ex parte etiam nostra Cæsarea custodiri, & observari mandamus.

Datum Constantinopoli, anno nostri prophetæ Sanctissimi 988, in principio mensis Junii, anno autem Jesu 1580.

The interpretation of the letters, or privilege of the most mightie and Musumanlike Emperour Zuldan Murad Can, granted at the request of Elizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and only Creator of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a peace and league betwixt both the said Princes and their subjects. [II. i. 143.]

WE most sacred Musulmanlike Emperour, by the infinite and exceeding great power, by the everlasting and wonderfull clemencie, & by the unspeakable helpe of the most mighty & most holy God, creator of all things, to be worshipped and feared with all purenesse of minde, and reverence of speech, The prince of these present times, the onely Monarch of this age, able to give scepters to

the potentates of the whole world, the shadow of the divine mercy and grace, the distributer of many kingdoms, provinces, townes and cities, Prince, and most sacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to say, of Gods house, of Medina, of the most glorious and blessed Jerusalem, of the most fertile Egypt, Jemen and Jovan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Jabza, and Pazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramaria and Diabekirvan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdomes of Asia, of Ozakior, of the tracts of the white and blacke Sea, of Grecia and Mesopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis in the West, of the most choise and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeswar, and of the kingdomes beyond the Alpes, and many others such like, most mightie Murad Can, the sonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the sonne of Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Paiizid Can, which was the sonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

We most mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendship, doe signifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, the most honourable Queene of Christendom (to whose marchants we wish happy successe) sent her letters by her worthy servant William Hareborne unto our stately and most magnificent Porch replenished with justice, which is a refuge and Sanctuary to all the princes of the world, by which letters her Majestie signified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her subjects had repaired to our saide stately Porche, and had shewed their obedience to the same, and for that cause had desired that leave and libertie might also be granted unto them, to come and goe for traffiques sake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commandement might be given, that no man should presume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or passages by sea or land, and whereas shee requested that we would graunt to all

her subjects in generall, this our favour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as wee have entred into amitie, and most holy league with the most excellent kings and princes our confederats, shewing their devotion, and obedience or services towards our stately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others) so also we have contracted an inviolable amitie, peace and league with the aforesaid Queene. Therefore wee give licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and safely to come unto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandise and goods without any impeachment, to exercise their traffique, to use their owne customes, and to buy and sell according to the fashions of their owne countrey.

And further her Majestie signified unto us, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken prisoners, and were detained in captivitie, and required that they might bee set at libertie, and that as we had graunted unto other Princes our confederats, priviledges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our most inviolable league with them, so it would please our Imperial Majesty to graunt and confirme the like priviledges, and princely decrees to the aforesaid Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingraffed disposition, the requests of her Majestie were accepted of us, and we have granted unto her Majestie this privilege of ours agreeable to reason & equitie. And we straightly command all our Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs our servants, and our Reyz, that is to say, our Judges, and all our customers in all places, havens and passages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and observed on the behalfe of the aforesaid Queene. 1 Our Imperiall commandement and pleasure is, that the people and subjects of the same Queene, may safely and securely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandise, and ladings, and other commodities by sea, in great and smal vessels, and by land with their carriages

and cattels, and that no man shall hurt them, but they may buy and sell without any hinderance, and observe the customes and orders of their owne countrey.

[II. i. 144.] 2 Item, if the aforesaid people and marchants shalbe at any time in the course of their journeis and dealings by any meanes taken, they shall be delivered and inlarged, without any excuse or cavillation.

3 Item, if their ships purpose to arive in any of our ports and havens, it shalbe lawfull for them so to do in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it shall happen that any of their ships in tempestuous weather shall bee in danger of losse and perishing, and thereupon shall stand in need of our helpe, we will, and commaund that our men and ships be ready to helpe and succour them.

5 Item, if they shalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no person shall withstande them, but they shall buy the same without any disturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any casualtie their shippes shall bee driven on shoare in perill of shipwracke, our Begs and Judges, and other our Subjects shall succour them, and such wares, and goods of theirs as shall bee recovered from the losse, shall bee restored to them, and no man shall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforesayd Queene, their interpreters and marchants, shall for trafique sake, either by lande or Sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and custome, they shall have quiet passage, and none of our Captaines or governours of the Sea, and shippes, nor any kinde of persons, shall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way molest them.

8 Item, if any Englishman shall grow in debt, and so owe money to any other man, and thereupon doth absent himselfe that he can not be found, let no man be arrested or apprehended for any other mans debt, except he be the surety.

9 Item, if any Englishman shall make his will and testament, to whom soever by the same hee shall give his goods, the partie shall have them accordingly, and if hee die intestate, hee to whom the Consull or governour of the societie shall say the goods of the dead are to bee given, hee shall have the same.

10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places under the jurisdiction of England shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controversie, let them go to the Judge, and cause the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they wil, let them also take letters of the Judge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoever thing shall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controversie and in doubt may be ended: but if such things be neither entred in booke, nor yet the persons have taken letters of the Judge, yet he shall admit no false witnesse, but shall execute the Law according to justice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians have spoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and have slandered the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witnesses in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his suretie.

13 Item, if any slave shall be found to be an Englishman, and their Consull or governour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slave be diligently examined, and if hee be found in deed to be English, let him be discharged and restored to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwel or trafique, whether hee be married or unmarried, he shall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos,

Tunis, Tripolis in ye west, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselves Consuls or governours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Consuls place others, let them do so also, and no man shall restraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any time absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let the thing then in question bee stayed and differred till his comming, and in the meane time no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controversie shall arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale to their Consuls or governours, let no man molest them, but let them freely doe so, that the controversie begunne may be finished according to their owne customes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this privilege, any pirats or other free governours of ships trading the Sea shall take any Englishman, and shall make sale of him, either beyonde the Sea, or on this side of the Sea, the matter shalbe examined according to justice, and if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receive the holy religion, then let him freely be discharged, but if he wil still remaine a Christian, let him then be restored [II. i. 145.] to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall demaund their money againe of them who solde the man.

19 Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnesse shal at any time goe forth to Sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with marchandise, no man shall hinder them, but rather shall use them friendly, and doe them no wrong, even as wee have given and granted articles, and privileges to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederats, so also wee have given the like to the English: and contrary to this our divine lawe and privilege, let no man presume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their voyage, or in any place to which they

come, bee stayed or arrested, let no man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item, if any theeves and robbers shall by force take away any of their ships, and marchandise, let the same theeves and robbers be sought, and searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most severely.

22 Last of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our slaves and servants of Captaines using the sea, and our Judges, customers and governours of ships called Reiz, and free Reiz, all these, according to the tenor of this privilege and articles, shalbe bound to doe accordingly: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part shall duely keepe and observe this league and holy peace, expressed in this privilege, we also for our Imperial part, do charge and commaund the same so long to be straightly kept and observed.

Given at Constantinople, in the 988. yeere of our most holy prophet, in the beginning of the moneth of June, And in the yeere of Jesus 1580.

Her Majesties letter to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581. promising redresse of the disorders of Peter Baker of Ratcliffe, committed in the Levant.

ELizabeth by the divine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland most sacred Queene, and of the most Christian faith, against all the prophaners of his most holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the most renowned and Emperious Cæsar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the East Monarchie chiefe above all others whosoever, most fortunate yeeres with the successe of al true happinesse. As with very great desire we wish and embrace the love and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the same by al good dueties and meanes we seeke to be

confirmed : so to us there may bee nothing more grievous and disliking, then that any thing should happen through the default of our Subjects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into suspition: Although wee are not ignorant how many good princes by the like misadventure be abused, where the doings of the Subjects are imputed to the want of good government. But such matters of importance and so well approved we may not omit : such is to us the sacred estimation of our honour, and of our Christian profession, as we would the same should appeare aswell in the concluding of our promises and agreements, as in the faithful performing of the same.

This was Baker of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roe, robbed certaine Grecians in the Levant.

The matter which by these our letters wee specially beholde, is a most injurious and grievous wrong which of late came unto our understanding, that should be done unto certaine of your subjects by certaine of our Subjects, as yet not apprehended: but with all severitie upon their apprehension they are to be awarded for the same. And as the deede in it selfe is most wicked, so is it much more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the estimation of our word faithfully given unto your Imperiall dignitie. In which so great a disorder if wee should not manifest our hatred towardes so wicked and evil disposed persons, we might not onely most justly be reproved in the judgement of all such as truely favour Justice, but also of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no lesse be condemned. That therefore considered, which of our parts is ordained in this cause which may be to the good liking of your highnesse, we are most especially to request of your Imperiall Majestie, that through the default and disorder of a sort of evill and wicked disposed persons, you wil not withdraw your gratious favour from us, neither to hinder the trafique of our Subjects, which by vertue of your highnesse sufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominions & countreys, or that either in their persons or goods they be prejudiced in their

traveyling by land or by water, promising unto your greatnesse most faithfully, that the goods whereof your subjects by great wrong and violence have bene spoyled, shall wholy againe be restored, if either by the lives or possessions of the robbers it may any way be brought to passe: And that hereafter (as now being taught by this [II. i. 146.] evill example) wee will have speciall care that none under the title of our authoritie shall be suffered to commit any the like wrongs or injuries.

Neither they which have committed these evil parts had any power under your highnesse safeconduct graunted unto our subjects, but from some other safeconduct, whether it were true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they bought it of any person within the government of Marseils: but under the colour thereof they have done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth utterly abhorre. Notwithstanding howsoever it be, wee will surely measure their evill proceedings with most sharpe and just correction, and that it shall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as also it shalbe an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this unfortunate hap had never chanced, and that the singuler affection of our Subjects towardes your Imperiall Majestie vowed, and dayly more and more desired, might be conserved and defended, we thereunto do make our humble suite unto your greatnesse: And for so great goodnesse towardes us and our people granted, doe most humbly pray unto the Almightie creatour of heaven and earth, ever to maintaine and keepe your most renowmed Majestie in all happinesse and prosperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of June, Anno 1581.

[The letters

The letters patents, or privileges graunted by her Majestie to Sir Edward Osborne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, in the yeere 1581.

Lizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, ministers, and Subjects, and to all other people asw ell within this our Realme of England, as else where under our obeysance, jurisdiction, or otherwise, unto whom these our letters shall be seene, shewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloved Subjects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our sayde City Marchant, have by great adventure and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, travailed, and caused travaile to bee taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and set open a trade of Marchandize and trafique into the Lands, Islands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man nowe living knowen to be commonly used and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the Marchants or any Subjects of us, or our progenitours; and also have by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, safetie, and freedome, for trade and trafique of Marchandise to bee used, and continued by our Subjects within his sayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may bee done for the peace of Christendome, and reliefe of many Christians that bee or may happen to bee in thraldome or necessitie under the sayde Grand Signior, his vassals or

Subjects, and also good and profitable vent and utterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and sundry other great benefites to the advancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increase of the revenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our Subjects in their good enterprises for the advancement of the Common weale, have of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, doe give and graunt unto our sayd trustie, and welbeloved Subjects Edward Osborne, and unto Thomas Smith of London Esquier, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London Marchants, their executors, and administrators, and to the executours and administratours of them, and of every of them, that they, and every of them, and such other person and persons Englishmen borne, not exceeding the number of twelve, as they the sayde Edward, and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, adventurers, or doers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, in their societie by themselves, their servants, Factours or deputies, and to such others as shall bee nominated according to the tenour of these our letters Patents, shall and may during the terme of seven yeeres from the date of these Patents, freely trade, trafique, and use feates of Marchandise into, and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, and every of them, in such order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition to all intents and purposes as shalbe betweene them limitted and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance, any Lawe, [II. i. 147.] statute, usage, diversitie of religion or faith, or other cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it shalbe lawful to the said Edward and Richard their executors and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and

adventurers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, such persons not exceeding the number of twelve (as afore is said) to trafique and use the said trade & feate of marchandise according to our saide graunt. And that all and every such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to bee appointed or admitted as parteners in the said trade or trafique according to these our letters patents, shall and may from the time of such appointment or admittance, have and enjoy the freedome and libertie of the said trade and trafique, during the residue of the said terme of seven yeeres, according to such limitation and agreement as is aforesaide, and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and administratours, servants, factours and deputies, and all such as shall be so appointed, nominated or admitted, to bee parteners or adventurers in the saide trade, or so many of them as can and will, to assemble themselves for or about any the matters, causes, affaires or businesse of the saide trade in any place or places for the same convenient, from time to time during the said terme of 7. yeres, within our dominions or elsewhere, and to make, ordeine, and constitute reasonable lawes and ordinances, for the good government of the said Company, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said trade and trafique, not being contrary or repugnant to the lawes, estatutes or customes of our Realme, and the same lawes or ordinances so made to put in use, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to revoke the same lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occasion shall require.

And in consideration that the said Edward Osborne hath bene the principall setter foorth and doer in the opening, & putting in ure of the said trade, we do therfore especially ordeine, constitute, and provide by these patents, that the saide Edward Osborne shall be governour of all such as by vertue of these our letters patents, shall be parteners, adventurers, or trafiquers in

the said trade, during the said terme of seven yeeres, if hee so long live: And that if the said Edward shall happen to decease during the saide terme, the saide Richard Staper then living, then the sayd Richard Staper shall likewise be governour during the residue of the said terme (if he so long live) and that if the said Edward and Richard shall both happen to decease during the said terme, then the partners or adventurers for the time being, or the greatest part of them, shall from time to time as necessitie shall require, choose and elect a governour of the said Company.

Provided alwayes, that if there shall happen any great or urgent occasion to remoove or displace any person that shall be governour of the saide fellowship, that then it shall, and may be lawfull for us, our heires and successours, to remoove, and displace every such governour, and to place another of the said fellowship in the same office, during such time as such person should have enjoyed the same, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cause to the contrary.

And we further for us, our heires, and successors, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, do graunt to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, that nothing shall bee done to be of force or validitie touching the sayde trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the said Edward, during such time as hee shall bee Governour as afore is saide. And after that time without the consent of the Governour for the time being, and the more part of the said Company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, have graunted, and by these patents for us, our heires and successors, doe graunt to the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, that they, the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, and the said person and

persons, by them the said Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as afore is said, together, with such two other persons, as wee our heires or successors from time to time during the sayd terme shall nominate, shall have the whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire onely libertie, use and privilege of trading, and trafiquing, and using feate of marchandise, into, and from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior, and every of them. And when there shall be no such persons so nominated or appointed by us, our heires or successors, that then the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, and such persons by them so to be appointed, shall have the saide whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, use, and privilege of trading and trafiquing aforesaid. And that they the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors & administrators, and also al such as shal so be nominated or appointed to be partners or adventurers in the said trade, according to such agreement as is abovesaid, and every of them, their servants, factors and deputies, shal have ful and free authoritie, libertie, [II. i. 148.] facultie, licence and power to trade and trafique into and from all and every the saide dominions of the saide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occasion of the said trade, they shall happen to arrive or come, whether they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, and from all Seas, rivers, ports, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barks, pinnesses and other vessels, and with such mariners and men, as they will lead with them or send for the said trade, as they shall thinke good at their owne proper cost and expenses, any law, statute, usage, or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And that it shalbe lawful for the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and to the persons aforesaid, and to and for the mariners and seamen to bee used and employed in the said trade and voyage to set

and place in the tops of their ships and other vessels the armes of England with the red crosse over the same, as heretofore they have used the red crosse, any matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we of our further royal favor, and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion have graunted, and by these presents doe graunt to the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators by these presents, that the said lands, territories, and dominions of the said Grand Signior, or any of them, shall not be visited, frequented, nor haunted by way of marchandise by any other our subjects during the said terme, contrary to the true meaning of these patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogative royall (which wee will not have argued or brought in question) we straightly charge and commaund, and prohibite for us, our heires, and successours, all our subjects (of what degree or qualitie soever they be) that none of them directly, or indirectly, do visite, haunt, frequent or trade, trafique, or adventure by way of marchandise into, or from any of the Dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, or other places abovesayde by water or by lande (other then the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours or administrators, or such as shalbe admitted, and nominated as is aforesaide) without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the said Governour, and company or the more part of them, whereof the said Governour alwayes to be one, upon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeiture and losse, as well of the ship and shippes, with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatsoever they be of those our Subjects which shall attempt, or presume to saile, trafique, or adventure, to or from any the dominions, or places abovesaid, contrary to the prohibition aforesaid: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the use of us, our heires & successors, and the other halfe to the use of the said

Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the said companie, and further to suffer imprisonment during our pleasure, and such other punishment as to us, for so high contempt, shal seeme meete and convenient.

And further of our grace speciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we have condescended and graunted, and by these patents for us our heires and successors, doe condescend and grant to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, their executors and administrators, that we our heires & successors during the said terme, will not grant liberty, licence or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenor of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or trafique into or from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior or any of them, without the consent of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and such as shalbe named or appointed as afore is said, or the most of them. And that if at any time hereafter during the said terme, ye said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the survivors of them, shal admit or nominate any of our subjects to be partners & adventurers in the said trade to the number of 12. or under as afore is said, that then we our heires and successors at the instance and petition of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the survivors of them in our Chauncerie to be made, and upon the sight of these presents, will grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or to the survivors of them, and to such persons as so shall be nominated or appointed by their speciall names, surnames, & additions as is aforesaid, new letters patents under the great seale of England in due forme of law with like agreement, clauses, prohibitions, provisoes and articles (mutatis mutandis) as in these our letters patents are conteined, for, and during the residue of the said terme of seven yeres then remaining unexpired. And that the sight of these presents shalbe sufficient warrant to the Lord Chancellour, or Lord keeper of the great seale for the time being, for the

making, sealing and passing of such new letters patents, without further writ or warrant for the same to be required, had, or obtained.

And the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and such others as shalbe so nominated and appointed, as is aforesaid, to be of their trade or companie, shall yeerely during 6. of the last yeres of the said 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforesaid, so much goods and marchandizes, as the custome, and subsidie inwards and outwards, shall amount in the whole to the summe of [II. i. 149.] 500. li. yeerely. So that the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the said persons so to be nominated as is aforesaid, or any of them, or their ship or shippes be not barred, stayed, restrained or let by any reasonable occasion from the sayde trade or trafique, and so that the said ship or ships do not perish by any misfortune, or bee spoyled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and such others as shall be appointed as aforesaide to be of their saide trade or Company, shall give notice unto the Lord Admirall of England, or to some of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of such ship or shippes as they shall set foorth in the same voyage, and of the number of Mariners appointed to goe in the same ship or shippes, by the space of fifteene dayes before the setting or going foorth of the same ship or shippes. And also the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and such other as shall be by them the saide Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the said trade, shall and will at the setting foorth of their ship, or shippes, for the same voyage, permit and suffer the Master of the Ordinance of us, our heires and successors, or some others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance,

to take a view of the number and quantitie of such Ordinance, powder, and munition as shall be caried in the said ship, or shippes, and shall also at the returne of the same ship, or shippes, suffer a view to be taken, and upon request made, make an accompt to the saide officers of our Ordinance, of the expenses, and wastes of the said Ordinance, powder, and munition, so to bee caried in the same ship, or shippes.

Provided alwayes, that if any of the said trade or Company, or their servants, factors, or sailers, in any ship by them laden, shall commit any piracie or outrage upon the seas, and that, if the said Company or societie shall not, or do not, within reasonable time, after complaint made, or notice given to the said Company, or to any of them, either satisfie or recompense the parties that so shall fortune to be robbed, or spoiled by any of the said Company, or sailers, in the said ships, or els shall not do their endevour to the uttermost of their reasonable power, to have the parties so offending punished for the same their offences, that then, and from thencefoorth, these present letters patents shall be utterly voyd, cease, and determine.

Provided likewise, that if it shall hereafter appeare unto us, our heires, or successors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, shall not be profitable to us, our heires, our successors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thencefoorth, upon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be given unto the said Company, or to the Governour thereof, by us, our heires, or successors, this present grant shall cease, be voyd, and determine, to all intents, constructions, and purposes.

Provided also, that we, our heires and successors, from time to time, during the said 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authorise two persons, being fit men, to be of the saide company, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be adventurers in the said trade, for such stocke and summe of money, as they shall put in,

so that the said persons to bee nominated, or authorised, shall be contributorie to all charges of the said trade & adventure indifferently, according to their stockes: and as other adventurers of the said trade shall doe for their stockes, and so that likewise they doe observe the orders of the said Company, allowable by this our graunt, and that such persons so to be appointed by us, our heires or successors, shall, and may, with the saide Company, and fellowship, use the trade and feate of marchandise aforesaide, and all the liberties and privileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we have condescended and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, doe condescend, and grant to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and administrators, that if at the ende of the said terme of seven yeeres, it shall seeme meete, and convenient unto the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the surviver of them, that this present grant shall be continued: and if that also it shall appeare unto us, our heires, or successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be prejudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or successors, at the instance and petition of the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the surviver of them, to be made to us, our heires, or successors, wil grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the surviver of them, and to such other persons, as so shal be by the said Edward and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, under the great seale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like covenants, grants, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessary articles, or change of these, in some part, for and during the full [II. i. 150.]

terme of seven yeeres then next following. Willing, and straightly commanding, and charging all and singuler our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Justices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Escheaters, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singuler our other officers, ministers, liege men, and subjects whatsoever, to be aiding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the said Governour, and company, and their successors, and to their Deputies, officers, servants, assignes, and ministers, and every of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses, as well on land as on sea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, shall be thereunto required, any statute, act, ordinance, proviso, proclamation, or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

In witnesse whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents, witnesse our selfe, at Westminster, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yeere of our raigne.

The first voyage or journey, made by Master Laurence Aldersey, Marchant of London, to the Cities of Jerusalem, and Tripolis, &c. In the yeere 1581. Penned and set downe by himselfe.

Departed from London the first day of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1581, passing through the Nether-land and up the river Rhene by Colen, and other cities of Germanie. And upon Thursday, the thirde day of May, I came to Augusta, where I delivered the letter I had to Master Jenise, and Master Castler, whom I found very willing to pleasure me, in any thing that I could or would reasonably demaund. He first furnished me with a horse to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to shew me the Citie, for that I had a day

to tary there, for him that was to be my guide. He shewed me first the State-house, which is very faire, and beautifull: then he brought mee to the finest garden, and orchard, that ever I sawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wier both above and beneath, with fine little branches of trees, for them to sit in, which was full of those Canarie birdes. There was such an other for Turtle dooves: also there were two pigeon houses joyning to them, having in them store of Turtle dooves, and pigeons. In the same garden also were sixe or seven fishponds, all railed about, and full of very good fish. Also, seven or eight fine fountaines, or water springs, of divers fashions: as for fruite, there wanted none of all sorts, as Orenges, figges, raisons, wallnuts, grapes, besides apples, peares, fillbirds, small nuts, and such other fruite, as wee have in England. *The description of Augusta in Germanie.*

Then did hee bring mee to the water tower of the same Citie, that by a sleight and devise hath the water brought up as high, as any Church in the towne, and to tel you the strange devises of all, it passeth my capacitie. Then he brought me to another faire garden, called the Shooters hoose, where are buts for the long bowe, the crosse bowe, the stone bowe, the long peece, and for divers other exercises more.

After this, we walked about the walles of the Citie, where is a great, broade, and deepe ditch, upon one side of the towne, so full of fish, as ever I sawe any pond in my life, and it is reserved onely for the States of the Citie. And upon the other side of the Citie is also a deepe place all greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaseth the States to hunt for their pleasure, thither they resort, and have their courses with grayhounds, which are kept for that purpose.

The fift of May, I departed from Augusta towards Venice, and came thither upon Whitsunday, the thirteenth of the same moneth. It is needlesse to speake of the height of the mountaines that I passed over, and *Venice.*

of the danger thereof, it is so wel knowen already to the world : the heigth of them is marveilous, and I was the space of sixe dayes in passing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which lasted foureteene dayes, wherein I sawe very many, and faire shewes of wares. I came thither too short for the first passage, which went away from Venice about the seventh or eight of May, and with them about three score pilgrims, which shippe was cast away at a towne called Estria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, saving thirtie, or thereabout, lost.

Within eight dayes after fell Corpus Christi day, which was a day amongst them of procession, in which was shewed the plate and treasure of Venice, which is esteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I do not accompt it woorth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be more than I sawe. To spèake of the sumptuousnesse of the Copes and Vestments of the Church, I leave, but the trueth is, they bee very sumptuous, many of them set all over with pearle, and made of cloth of golde. And for the Jesuits, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Colen.

[II. i. 151.] *The number of Jewes in Venice.*

The number of Jewes is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and have also a place, to which they resort to pray, which is called the Jewes Sinagogue. They all, and their offspring use to weare red caps, (for so they are commaunded) because they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my further knowledge of these people, I went into their Sinagogue upon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day : and I found them in their service or prayers, very devoute : they receive the five bookes of Moses, and honour them by carying them about their Church, as the Papists doe their crosse.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people sit round about it, and in the midst, there is a place for him that readeth to the rest : as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne over their

garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The Psalmes they sing as wee doe, having no image, nor using any maner of idolatrie: their error is, that they beleeve not in Christ, nor yet receive the New Testament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to bee commended, wherein is good order for all things: and also it is very strong and populous: it standeth upon the maine Sea, and hath many Islands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Seigniory: there is one chosen that ever beareth the name of a duke, but in trueth hee is but servant to the Seigniorie, for of himselfe hee can doe litle: it is no otherwise with him, then with a Priest that is at Masse upon a festival day, which putting on his golden garment, seemeth to be a great man, but if any man come unto him, and crave some friendship at his handes, hee will say, you must goe to the Masters of the Parish, for I can not pleasure you, otherwise then by preferring of your suite: and so it is with the duke of Venice, if any man having a suite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliver his supplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but hee will tell him, You must come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your suite to the Seigniorie, and doe you the best friendship that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter unto him, hee may not open it, but in the presence of the Seigniorie, and they are to see it first, which being read, perhaps they will deliver it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seigniory there be about three hundreth, and about fourtie of the privie Counsell of Venice, who usually are arayed in gownes of crimsen Satten, or crimsen Damaske, when they sit in Counsell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a souldier for the Seigniorie, or a scholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not do that without licence.

The excesse of the women of Venice.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monsters, then women. Every Shoomakers or Taylors wife will have a gowne of silke, and one to carie up her traine, wearing their shooes very neere halfe a yard high from the ground: if a stranger meete one of them, he will surely thinke by the state that she goeth with, that he meeteth a Lady.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, upon Midsommer day, being the foure and twentieth of June, and thinking that the ship would the next day depart, I stayed, and lay a shippeboord all night, and we were made beleeve from time to time, that we should this day, and that day depart, but we taried still, till the fourteenth of July, and then with scant winde wee set sayle, and sayled that day and that night, not above fiftie Italian miles: and upon the sixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrary, so that the Master knewe not what to doe: and about the fift houre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pilot descried a saile, and at last perceived it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare.

His embarking at Venice for Jerusalem.

The Master being a wise fellowe, and a good sayler, beganne to devise howe to escape the danger, and to loose litle of our way: and while both he, and all of us were in our dumps, God sent us a merry gale of winde, that we ranne threescore and tenne leagues before it was twelve a clocke the next day, and in sixe dayes after we were seven leagues past Zante. And upon Munday morning, being the three and twentie of the same moneth, we came in the sight of Candia which day the winde came contrary, with great blasts, and stormes, untill the eight and twentie of the same moneth: in which time, the Mariners cried out upon me, because I was an English man, & sayd, I was no good Christian, and wished that I were in the middest of the Sea, saying, that they, and the shippe, were the worse for me. I answered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my selfe the

worst creature in the worlde, and consider you your selves also, as I doe my selfe, and then use your discretion. The Frier preached, and the sermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did understand him: I answered, yea, and tolde the Frier himselfe, thus you saide in your sermon, that we were not all good Christians, or else it were not possible for us to have such weather: to which I answered, be you well assured, that we are not indeede all good Christians, for there are in the [II. i. 152.] ship some that hold very unchristian opinions: so for that time I satisfied him, although (they said) that I would not see, when they said the procession, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Lady, and S. Marke.

There was also a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a passenger in the ship, and he tolde me what they said of me, because I would not sing, Salve Regina, and Ave Maria, as they did: I told them, that they that praied to so many, or sought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Jesus Christ his onely sonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne destructions.

All this was told the Friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at evening prayer, they sent the purser about with the image of our Lady to every one to kisse, & I perceiving it went another way from him, and would not see it: yet at last he fetched his course about, so that he came to me, & offered it to me as he did to others, but I refused it: whereupon there was a great stirre: the patron and all the friers were told of it, and every one saide I was a Lutheran, and so called me: but two of the friers that were of greatest authoritie, seemed to beare mee better good will then the rest, and travelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

The second day of August we arrived in Cyprus, at *Cyprus.* a towne called Missagh: the people there be very rude, *Missagh.* and like beasts, and no better, they eat their meat sitting

upon the ground, with their legges a crosse like tailors, their beds for the most part be hard stones, but yet some of them have faire mattraces to lie upon.

Joppa. Upon thursday the eight of August we came to Joppa in a small barke, which we hired betwixt Missagh and Salina, and could not be suffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the *The Basha of Joppa.* great Basha, who sate upon the top of a hill to see us sent away. Being come on land, we might not enter into any house for victuals, but were to content our selves with our owne provision, and that which we bought to carie with us was taken from us. I had a paire of stirrops, which I bought at Venice to serve me in my journey, and trying to make them fit for me, when the Basha saw me up before the rest of the companie, he sent one to dismount me, and to strike me, whereupon I turned me to the Basha, and made a long legge, saying, Grand mercie Signior: and after a while we were horsed upon litle asses, and sent away, with about fiftie light horsemen to be our conduct through the wildernesse, called Deserta fœlix, who made us good sport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and fauchins.

Rama. That day being S. Laurence day, we came to Rama, which is tenne Italian miles from Joppa, and there we stayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the castell every man a chekin, which is seven shillings and two pence sterling. So then we had a new gard of souldiers, and left the other.

The house we lodged in at Rama had a doore so low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were upon my knees, & within it are three roomes to lodge travellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the provision, without stooles or benches to sit upon. Our victuals were brought us out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great store of fruite, as pom-granates, figges, grapes, oringes, and such like, and drinke we drue out of the well. The towne it selfe

is so ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of stones then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to have gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, so we stayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a fresh gard of souldiers we departed toward Jerusalem. We had not ridde five English miles, but we were incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who stayed us, and would not suffer us to passe till they had somewhat, so it cost us for all our gard above twentie shillings a man betwixt Joppa and Jerusalem. These Arabians troubled us oftentimes. Our Truchman that payed the money for us was striken downe, and had his head broken because he would not give them as much as they asked: and they that should have rescued both him and us, stood still, and durst doe nothing, which was to our cost.

Troopes of theevish Arabians.

Being come within sight of Jerusalem, the maner is to kneele downe, and give God thankes, that it hath pleased him to bring us to that holy place where he himselfe had beene: and there we leave our horses, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and so we were permitted to go to our lodgings.

His arrivall in the sight of Jerusalem.

The governor of the house met us a mile out of the towne, and very curteously bade us all welcome, and brought us to the monasterie. The gates of the citie are all covered with yron, the entrance into the house of the Christians is a very low & narrow doore, barred or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monastery: there we lay, & dieted of free cost, we fared reasonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, & all the meat well served in, with cleane linnen. [II. i. 153.]

We lay at the monasterie two dayes, friday and saturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of the friers of the house with us: in the way thither we saw many monuments, as:

The monuments in and about Jerusalem.

The mountaine where the Angell tooke up Abacuck by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne.

The fountaine of the prophet Jeremie.

The place where the wise men met that went to Bethlem to worship Christ, where is a fountaine of stone.

Being come to Bethlem we sawe the place where Christ was borne, which is now a chappell with two altars, whereupon they say masse: the place is built with gray marble, and hath bene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the sepulchre of the innocents slaine by Herod, the sepulchres of Paul, of Jerome, and of Eusebius.

Also a litle from this monasterie is a place under the ground, where the virgine Mary abode with Christ when Herod sought him to destroy him.

We stayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Judea, which are about eight miles from Jerusalem, where are the ruines of an olde monasterie. In the mid way from the monasterie to Jerusalem is the place where John Baptist was borne, being now an olde monasterie, and cattell kept in it. Also a mile from Jerusalem is a place called Inventio sanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the crosse.

In the citie of Jerusalem we saw the hall where Pilate sate in judgement when Christ was condemned, the staires whereof are at Rome, as they told us. A litle from thence is the house where the virgin Mary was borne.

There is also the piscina or fishpoole where the sicke folkes were healed, which is by the wals of Jerusalem. But the poole is now dry.

The mount of Calvaria is a great church, and within the doore therof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and five great holes in it to looke in, like the holes

of taverne doores in London, they sit that are appointed to receive our money with a carpet under them upon a banke of stone, & their legs a crosse like tailors: having paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right against the church doore is the grave where Christ was buried, with a great long stone of white marble over it, and rayled about, the outside of the sepulchre is very foule, by meanes that every man scrapes his name and marke upon it, and is ill kept.

Within the sepulchre is a partition, & in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they say masse, and at the doore thereof is the stone whereupon the Angell sate when he sayde to Marie, He is risen, which stone was also rowled to the doore of the sepulchre.

The altar stone within the sepulchre is of white marble, the place able to conteine but foure persons, right over the sepulchre is a devise or lanterne for light, and over that a great louer, such as are in England in ancient houses. There is also the chappell of the sepulchre, and in the mids thereof is a canopie as it were of a bed, with a great sort of Estridge egges hanging at it, with tassels of silke and lampes.

Behinde the sepulchre is a litle chappell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Upon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his sonne: and in the same place the tombe of Melchisedech.

S. Helens chapell.

There is a chappell also in the same church erected to S. Helen, through which we go up to the place where Christ was crucified: the stayres are fiftie steps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the crosse stood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with silver, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent also of the mountaine is there to be seene in the crevis, wherein a man may put his arme.

Upon the other side of the mount of Calvarie is the place where Abraham would have sacrificed his sonne. Where also is a chapell, and the place paved with stones of divers colours.

There is also the house of Annas the high Priest, and the Olive tree whereunto Christ was bound when he was whipt. Also the house of Caiphas, and by it the prison where Christ was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the doore.

Without Jerusalem in the vally of Josaphat is a church under the ground, like to the shrouds in Pauls, where the sepulchre of the virgin Mary is: the staires be very broad, and upon the staires going downe are two sepulchres: upon the left hand lieth Josaphat, and upon the right hand lieth Joachim and Anna, the father and mother of the virgin Mary.

Going out of the valley of Josaphat we came to mount Olivet, where Christ praied unto his father before his death: and there is to be seene (as they [II. i. 154.] tolde me) the water & blood that fell from the eyes of Christ. A litle higher upon the same mount is the place where the Apostles slept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Christ was imprisoned.

Upon the mountaine also is the place where Christ stood when he wept over Jerusalem, and where he ascended into heaven.

His departure from Jerusalem.

Now having seene all these monuments, I with my company set from Jerusalem, the 20 day of August, and came againe to Joppa the 22 of the same moneth, where wee tooke shipping presently for Tripolis, and in foure dayes we came to Mecina the place where the ships lie that come for Tripolis.

Tripolis in Syria.

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, so that no ship can come further then Mecina: so that night I came thither, where I lay nine daies for passage, and at last we imbarked our

selves in a good ship of Venice called the new Nave Ragasona. We entred the ship the second of September, the fourth we set saile, the seventh we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we stayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell sicke of an ague, but recovered againe, I praise God.

Salina is a ruinated citie, and was destroyed by the Turke ten yeeres past: there are in it now but seventeene persons, women and children. A litle from this citie of Salina is a salt piece of ground, where the water groweth salt that raineth upon it. *Salina.*

Thursday the 21 of September, we came to Missagh, & there we stayed eight dayes for our lading: the 18 of September before we came to Missagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, because the winde was contrary, there came a great boat full of men to boord us, they made an excuse to seeke for foure men which (they said) our ship had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our captaine would not suffer any of them to come in to us. *Missagh a town in Cyprus.*

The next morning they came to us againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at ye least, whereupon our captaine sent the boat to them with twelve men to know their pleasure: they said they sought for 4 men, and therfore would talke with our maister: so then the maisters mate was sent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, & with three other gallies, and then would needes speake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimson damaske, and other very brave apparell, and five or sixe other gentlemen richly apparelled also. They having the Turks safe conduct, shewed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laid it upon his head, charging him to obey it: so with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pieces of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

That day as aforesaid, we came to Missagh, and there *Candie.*

stayed eight dayes, and at last departed towards Candie, with a scant winde.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which also made a sleevelesse arrant, and troubled us very much, but our captaines pasport, and the gift of 100 chekins discharged all.

Zante. The 27 of October we passed by Zante with a merrie winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the third of November we arrived at Istria, and there we left our great ship, and tooke small boates to bring us to Venice.

The 9 of November I arrived again at Venice in good health, where I staied nine daies, and the 25 of the same moneth I came to Augusta, and staied there but one day.

The 27 of November I set towards Nuremberg where I came the 29, and there staied till the 9 of December, and was very well interteined of the English marchants there: and the governors of the towne sent me and my company sixteene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnam, from Arnam to Utreight, from Utreight to Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Flushing, from Flushing to London, where I arrived upon Twelfe eve in safetie, and gave thanks to God, having finished my journey to Jerusalem and home againe, in the space of nine moneths and five dayes.

The passeport made by the great Maister of Malta unto the Englishmen in the barke Raynolds. 1582.

FRere Hugo de Loubeux Verdala, Dei gratia sacræ domus hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani magister humilis, pauperumque Jesu Christi custos, universis & singulis principibus ecclesiasticis & secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicedominis, præfectis, castellanis, admiraliis, & quibuscunque triremium vel aliorum navigiorum patronis, ac civitatum rectoribus, potestatibus ac magistratibus, cæterísque officialibus, & quibuscunque personis cujusvis dignitatis, gradus, status & conditionis [II. i. 155.] fuerint, ubilibet locorum & terrarum constitutis, salutem.

Notum facimus & in verbo veritatis attestamur, come nel mese di Maggio prossime passato le nostre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, dove havendo mandato per soccorrere a un galionetto de Christiani che havea dato traverso in quelle parti, essendo arrivati sopra questa isola alla parte de ponente trovarono una nave Inglesa, sopra cargo de essa il magnifico Giovanni Keale, & David Filly patrono, volendo la reconoscere che nave fosse, han visto, che se metteva in ordine per defendersi, dubitando che dette nostre galere fossero de inimici: & per che un marinaro rivoltose contra la volonta de detti magnifico Giovani Keale & David Filly, habbi tirato un tiro di artiglieria verso una de dette galere, & che non se amangnava la vela de la Majestra secondo la volonta de detti magnifico Giovanni Keale & David Filly patrono, furimensata detta nave nel presente general porto di Malta, secondo l'ordine del venerando Generale de dette galere, & essendo qua, monsignor Inquisitore ha impedita quella per conto del sancto officio, & si diede parte alla santita di nostro

signor Gregorio papa xiii. A la fin fu licenciata per andarsene al suo viaggio. Han donque humilmente supplicato detti magnifico Giovanni Keale & David Filly per nome & parte delli magnifici Edwardo Osborn senatore & Richardo Staper merchanti Inglesi della nobile citta di Londra, & anco di Thomaso Wilkinson scrivano, piloti, nocheri, & marinari, gli volessimo dare le nostre lettere patente & salvo condutto, accioche potranno andare & ritornare quando gli parera commodo con alcuna roba & mercantia a loro benvista : si come noi, essendo cosa giusta & che retornera commoda a nostra relligione & a questi forrestieri, per tenor de li presenti se gli habiamo concesse con le conditione però infra scritte. videlicet :

Che ogni volta che detti mercadanti con sopradetta nave o con altra non porteranno mercantie de contrabando, & che constara per fede authentica & con lettere patente de sanita, poteran liberalmente victualiarse de tutte le victuarie necessarie, & praticare in questa isola & dominii, & poi partirsene & seguire suo viaggio per dove volessero in levante o altrove, come tutti altri vaselli & specialmente de Francesi & altri nationi, & di vendere & comprare qual si voglia mercantia a loro benvista.

Item, che potera portare polvere de canone & di archibuso, salnitro, carboni di petra rosetta, platine de rame, stagno, acciale, ferro, carisée commune, tela grossa bianca per far tende de galere, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino fine, arbore & antenne de galere, bastardi & alteri. Et in conclusione, havenda visto che loro per il tempo che restarano qua, si portorno da fideli & Catholici Christiani, & che sua sanctita habbia trovato bono il salvo condutto del gran Turko a loro concesso, per il timor della armata Turkesca & di altri vaselli de inimici, inherendo alla volonta di sua sanctitá, & massime per che havera de andare & passare per diversi lochi & tanto lontani come Ingilterra, Flandra, & tutti parti di ponente, & in altrove, a noi ha parso farle le presente nostre lettere patente come fidele conversatore nostro,

accio piu securamente & sensa obstaculo possa andare & ritornare quando li parera con detta nave o con altre, a loro benvista. Per tanto donque tutti & ciascun di voi sudetti affectuosamente pregamo, che per qual si voglia de vostra jurisditione, alla quale detto magnifico Giovani Keale & David Filly a nome quo supra con la nave & marinari de detti loro principali o altri caschera, navigare, passare, & venire sicuramente, alla libera, sensa alcuno disturbo o altro impedimento li lasciate, & facciate lasciare stare, & passare, tornare, & quando li parera partire, talmente che per amore & contemplatione nostra il detto magnifico Giovanni Keale a nome quo supra con le nave, marinari, & mercantia non habbi difficulta, fastidio & ritentione alcuna, anzi se gli dia ogni agiuto & favore, cosa degnadi voi, giusta, & a noi gratissima, de recompensarvila con uguale & maggior servitio, quando dall'occasione ne saremo rechiesti. Et finalmente commandammo a tutti & qual si voglia relligiosi & frati de nostra relligione di qual si voglia conditione, grado & stato che siano, & a tutti ricevitori & procuratori nostri in tutti & qual si voglia priorati nostri deputati & deputandi in vertu di santa obedientia, & a tutti nostri vassalli & alla giurisditione di nostra relligione sogetti, che in tale & per tale tenghino & reputino il detto magnifico Giovanni Keale a nome ut supra, nave, marinari, & mercantia, sensa permittere, che nel detto suo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo sia molestato, o in qual si voglia manera impedito, anzi tutte le cose sue & negotii loro sian da voi agioutati & continuamente favoriti. In cujus rei testimonium Bulla nostra magistralis in cera nigra præsentibus est impressa. Datæ Melitæ in conventu nostro die duodecimo Mensis Julii. 1582.

The same in English.

FRier Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, master of the holy house, the hospital of S. John at Jerusalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Jesus Christ, to all & every prince ecclesiastical & secular,

archbishops, bishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Barons, Capteines, Vicelords, Maiors, Castellanes, Admirals, and whatsoever patrons of Gallies, or other greater shippes, and governors of cities, potentates and magistrates, and other officers and [II. i. 156.] persons whatsoever, of what dignitie, degree, state and condition soever they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of truth do witnesse, that in the moneth of May last past, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where having commandement to succour a little ship of the Christians which was driven over into that part, being arrived upon this Iland on the West part they found one English ship under the charge of the worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie master: and our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselves in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, & therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie maister, and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her sayle, according to the will of the saide worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie master, the said ship was brought backe again unto the present port of Malta, according to the order of the reverend generall of the said gallies: and in being there, maister Inquisitor staid it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holinesse of our Lord pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the end was licenced to depart on her voyage. They therefore the said worshipfull John Keele and David Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipfull master Edward Osborne Alderman, and Richard Staper, English marchants of the noble citie of London, have humbly besought together with Thomas Wilkinson the purser, pilots, master and mariners, that we would give our letters patents, and safe conducts, that they might goe and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleasure: whereupon the

thing seeming unto us just, and that it might be for the profite of our religion, and of these strangers, by the tenor of these presents we have granted the same to them : yet, with the conditions hereunder written. viz.

That every time the said marchants of the said ship, or with any other, shall not bring such marchandize as is forbidden, and that by sufficient proofe and letters testimoniall it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themselves with all necessarie victuals, and traffike with us, and in this Iland and dominion, and afterwarde may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Levant or else where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoever marchandize they shal thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebush, saltpeeter, cole of Newcastle, plates of lattin, tinne, steele, yron, common karsies white, course canvas to make saile for the gallies, balles of yron for shot, fine milstones, trees & masts for gallies, litle and others, and in conclusion, having seene that they for the time of their abode here, did behave themselves like faithfull and catholike Christians, & that his holines hath allowed the safeconduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkish armie, and other vessels of the enemie, submitting our selves to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especially because our people have occasion to passe by divers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, and in other places, we have vouchsafed to make these our letters patents, as our faithfull assistant, so as more surely, and without let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure. We therefore pray all and every of your subjects effectually that by what part soever of your jurisdiction, unto the which the said worshipfull John Keele and David Fillie by name abovesaid, with the ship and mariners of the said principall place or other, shall have accesse, saile, &

passe, and come safely with libertie without any disturbance or other impediment, that you give leave, and cause leave to be given that they may passe, stay and returne, and when they please, depart, in such sort, that for our love & contentation the said worshipfull John Keele, with the ship and mariners have no let, hinderance, or retention, also that you give all helpe and favour, a thing worthy of your justice, and to us most acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater service, when upon occasion it shalbe required.

And finally, we command all, and whatsoever religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatsoever condition, degree, and state they be, and all other receivers and procurators, in all and whatsoever our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are subject to the jurisdiction of our religion, that in, and by the same they hold, and repute the said worshipfull John Keele in the name as abovesaid, the ship, mariners, and marchandize, without let in the same their voyage, or in any other place, that they be not molested, nor in any wise hindered, but that in all their causes and businesse they be of you holpen, and furthered continually. In witnesse whereof, our seale of government is impressed to these presents in blacke waxe. Given at Malta in our Convent, the twelfth of the moneth of July, in the yeere 1582.

The Queenes Commission under her great seale, to her servant master William Hareborne, to be her majesties Ambassadour or Agent, in the partes of Turkie. 1582. [II. i. 157.]

ELIZABETHA, Dei optimi Maximi, conditoris, & rectoris unici clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ fidei contra Idololatras falsò Christi nomen profitentes invicta & potentissima propugnatrix, universis, & singulis præsentes has literas visuris, & inspecturis, salutem. Cùm augustissimus, & invictissimus princeps, Zuldan Murad Can, Turcici regni Dominator potentissimus, imperiíque Orientis Monarcha, fœdus, amicitiámque nobiscum percusserit, juraveritque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inviolatè servare destinamus) ad eámque magis ornandam, illustrandámque concesserit idem augustissimus Imperator subditis nostris liberam suas merces excercendi rationem in omnibus Musulmanici imperii sui partibus, cum tam ampla privilegiorum concessione, quàm aliis bonis principibus, sociis, & fœderatis nostris largitus est, quorum privilegiorum donationem nos gratam, acceptámque habentes, pari cum animi gratitudine colere certum habemus, deliberatúmque, nihil in votis habentes potiùs, quàm bonorum erga nos principum animos benevolos honoratissima mente fovere, promereríque: Sciatis, nos de singulari erga nos, obsequiúmque nostrum, fide, observantia, prudentia, & dexteritate multùm nobis chari Guilielmi Hareborne, è custodibus corporis nostri unius, plurimùm confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, & Agentem nostrum certum & indubitatum ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus, per præsentes: dantes ei, & concedentes potestatem, & authoritatem, nomine nostro, & pro nobis prædictum amicitiæ fœdus confirmandi, privilegiorum concessionem in manus suas

capiendi, ratámque habendi, omnibus & singulis subditis nostris, Musulmanicis oris terrísque negotiantibus, pro Majestatis nostræ authoritate præcipiendi, mandandíque, ut sint in suis commerciis, quamdiu, quotiésque cum Mansulmanicis versantur, dictorum privilegiorum præscripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obsequia tanta amicitia digna se componentes, ac in delinquentes in fœdus nostrum justitiam exequatur. Potestatem, & authoritatem ei damus in omnes, & singulos subditos nostros in quibuscunque & locis, & partibus Musulmanici Imperii dominationi subjectis negotiantes, constituendi emporiorum suorum sedes in quibus voluerit portubus, & civitatibus, in aliis vetandi, in constitutis autem emporiorum sedibus, consules curandi, leges præceptionésque ferendi, condendíque, quarum ex præscripto dicti nostri subditi, & eorum quilibet sese publicè, & privatim gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, castigandíque, omnia denique & singula faciendi, perimplendíque, quæ ad dictorum subditorum nostrorum honestam gubernationem, & commercii exercendi in illis partibus rationem pertinent: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituras, quæcunque dictus Orator, & Agens noster, à legibus nostris non abhorrentia in præmissis aut præmissorum aliquo fecerit. In cujus rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, & sigilli nostri impressione jussimus muniri. Datum è castro nostro Windesoriæ, 20. die Mensis Novembris, Anno Jesu Christi 1582. regni verò nostri, vicesimo quarto.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the clemencie of the most good and most great God, the only creator and governour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, invincible, and most mightie defender of the true faith, against all Idolaters falsly professing the name of Christ, to all and singuler persons, to whose sight and view these our present letters may come, greeting. Whereas the

most renowmed, and most invincible Prince Zuldan Murad Can, the most mighty governour of the kingdom of Turkie, and Monarch of the East Empire, hath entered into league and friendship with us, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in us, doe purpose solemnly, and inviolablie to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better countenancing and authorizing of the same, the foresayd renowmed Emperour hath graunted unto our subjects free libertie of traffique, in all the partes of his sacred Empire, with as ample and large a grant of privileges, as is given to other good Princes our neighbours and confederates, the grant of which privileges, we taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainely, and throughly determined to keepe and mainetaine, with the like goodnesse and curtesie of minde, desiring nothing more, then with an honourable respect to nourish, and deserve the benevolent affections of good Princes toward us: Know ye, that wee thinking well, and having good [II. i. 158.] confidence in the singular trustinesse, obedience, wisedome, and disposition of our welbeloved servaunt William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, towards us, and our service, doe by these presents, make, ordaine and constitute him our true and undoubted Orator, Messenger, Deputie, and Agent. Giving and granting unto him power and authoritie, in our name, and for us, to confirme the foresaid league of friendship, to take into his hands, and to ratifie the grant of the privileges, and to commaund, and enjoyne by the authoritie of our Majestie, all and singular our Subjects trading and dealing in any of the coastes and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffique with his subjects, they be obedient to the prescription and order of the foresayd privileges, applying themselves in all things, and through all things, to such dueties and services as appertaine to so great a league and friendship, and the offenders agaynst this our league to receive justice, and punishment accordingly. We further give unto him power and authoritie over all and singuler our Subjects, dealing, and

using traffique in any place or part whatsoever, subject to the governement of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Haven or Citie it shall please him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and wheresoever their traffiques are appointed to bee kept, there to make and create Consuls or Governours, to enact lawes and statutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof all our foresayd subjects, and every one of them, shall both publikely and privately use and behave themselves, to correct and punish the breakers of those lawes: and last of all, to doe and fulfill all and singular things whatsoever, which shall seeme requisite and convenient for the honest and orderly government of our said subjects, and of the maner of their traffique in those parts. Promising assuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatsoever shall be done of our sayd Orator and Agent, in all, or in any of the premisses, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, shall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by us. In witnesse whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents, and our seale thereunto to be appensed. Given at our Castle of Windsore, the 20. day of November, in the yeere of Christ 1582. and of our raigne the 24.

The Queenes Letter to the great Turke 1582. written in commendation of Master Hareborne, when he was sent Ambassadour.

ELIZABETH &c. Augustissimo invictissimóque principi, &c. Cùm ad postulatum nostrum Cæsarea vestra Majestas, anno salvatoris nostri Jesu 1580. pacis fœdus nobiscum pepigerit, conjunctum cum liberalissima privilegiorum quorundam concessione, quorum beneficio subditi nostri cum omni securitate tutissimè liberriméque ad universas & singulas Musulmanici imperii vestri partes terra maríque proficisci, in iisque commercii exercendi gratia,

negotiari, habitare, manere, exindéque ire & redire cum volent queant, ab iis qui sub Cæsarea vestra Majestate in magistratu sunt ubique locorum protegendi defendendíque sine ulla vel corporum, vel bonorum læsione: nos tantæ concessionis beneficium gratum acceptúmque habentes, quantum in nobis est, approbamus confirmamúsque: pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem sine ulla violatione sartam tectámque conservabimus: faciemúsque ut subditi nostri privilegiorum sibi indultorum concessione ita utantur, ut Cæsaream vestram Majestatem magnificentissimæ suæ liberalitatis nunquam pœnitere queat. Quoniam autem concessionis hujus virtus in usu potiùs quàm verbis, Majestatis utriúsque nostrum sententiâ, ponenda videtur, voluimus hunc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Hareborne, ex satellitibus quibus ad corporis nostri tutelam utimur unum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum, ad Cæsaream vestram Majestatem ablegare, qui tum nomine nostro vobis gratias ageret, tum ut ejus opera uteremur ad eam subditorum nostrorum mercimoniorum rationem stabiliendam, tam in Imperiali vestra civitate Constantinopoli, quàm aliis imperii vestri Musulmanici locis, quæ ex præscripto privilegiorum, Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis benignitate, conceditur, & ex usu subditorum utriúsque nostrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis, authoritate, summa contentione ab eadem rogamus, velit id agere apud omnes qui sub se in magistratu sunt, ut quibuscunque poterunt melioribus modis huic nostro mandatario in Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis placito exequendo, adjutores sint & esse velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandavimus, in qua quàm fidem suam sit honestè liberaturus erga Majestatem utriusque nostrum neutiquam dubitamus: cui etiam, ut in omnibus sint obtemperantes nostri subditi, quantum Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis concessio patitur, volumus. Præterea, cum præclarus vir Mustafa sacræ Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis Musulmannorum interpres egregiam navarit operam ut hoc inter nos fœdus fieret, rogamus summoperè ut in nostram gratiam eum in

Mustafa interpres.

[II. i. 159.] Mustafaracarum ordinem Cæsarea vestra Majestas recipere dignetur. Si in his aliisque omnibus honestis causis hic noster agens subditíque nostri Imperatoriæ vestræ sublimitatis æquanimitatem senserint, florebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, & nos omnibus officiis huic vestræ Majestatis favori & benevolentiæ (si ulla ratione rebus vestris commodare poterimus) respondere libentissimè semper paratæ erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, &c.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God and only creator of heaven and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kind of idolatries of all that live among the Christians and falsly professe the name of Christ, unto the most Imperiall and most invincible prince, Sultan Murad Can, the most mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkie, sole above all, and most soveraigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting.

Whereas at our request your Imperiall Majestie in the yeere of our Saviour Jesus 1580. hath entered into a league of peace with us, whereunto was united a most large & bountiful grant of certaine privileges, by benefite whereof our subjects may with all securitie most safely and freely travell by Sea and land into all and singular parts of your Musulmanlike Empire, and in the same exercising the trade of merchandise, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleasure, and in all places be maintained and defended from all damage of bodies and goods, by such as are in authoritie under your Imperiall Majestie: we thankfully and gratefully receiving the benefite of so great a privilege, as much as in us lieth doe approove and confirme the same, promising in the worde of a Prince, that wee will keepe the said league perfect and inviolable, and will cause our subjects so to use the grant of the

privileges given unto them, as your Imperiall Majestie shall never have occasion to repent you of your most princely liberalitie. And because the force of this grant, in the judgement of both our majesties, seemeth rather to consist in the use thereof, then in the wordes, we thought good to send unto your Imperiall majestie this our ambassadour William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, which both on our behalfe should yeeld thanks unto your majestie, and also that we might use his good indevour for the establishing of such order in our subjects trade of merchandise, as well in your Imperiall citie of Constantinople, as in other places of your Musulmanlike Empire, as according to the prescript of the privileges is granted by your princely majesties goodnesse, and shall be for the benefite of both our subjects. For performance whereof, because hee standeth in neede of your Imperiall Majesties authoritie, wee earnestly beseech the same, that you would cause all those which bee in authoritie under your Highnesse, by all their best meanes to aide and assist this our Ambassadour in executing this your Imperiall Majesties pleasure, for unto him wee have committed this charge: wherein how honestly hee will discharge his credite toward both our Majesties, I no whit stand in doubt: to whom also our pleasure is, that all our subjects shall bee obedient, as farre as the grant of your Imperiall majestie doeth permit. Moreover, whereas that woorthie personage Mustafa, your Imperiall majesties Interpretor, hath taken speciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene us, wee earnestly beseech you that for our sakes your Imperiall Majestie would vouchsafe to advance him unto the degree of the Mustafaraks or chiefe pensioners. If in these and in all other honest causes, our aforesayde Agent and our subjectes shall finde your Imperiall Hignesses favour, a noble traffique will flourish betweene these nations, and wee (if by any way wee may stand your State in steade) will alwayes most willingly be readie to requite this your Majesties favour and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almightie

M. Wil. Hareborne sent ambassador to the Turke.

A request for the preferring of Mustafa Beg.

God the maker of the world preserve and keepe your Imperiall Majestie, &c.

A Letter of the Queenes Majestie to Alli Bassa the Turkes high Admirall, sent by her ambassadour M. William Hareborne, and delivered unto him aboord his gallie in the Arsenal.

LIZABETHA, &c. Illustrissimo viro Alli Bassa, magni Musulmanici Cæsaris Admiralio, salutem & successus fortunatos. Non ignotum esse Excellentiæ vestræ arbitramur, privilegia quædam à potentissimo Cæsare Musulmanico domino vestro clementissimo subditis nostris Anglicis concessa esse, ut illis liceat in omnibus imperii Musulmanici provinciis tutò & securè manere ac negotiari: non [II. i. 160.] aliter quàm hoc ipsum Francis, Polonis, Venetis, Germanis antea indultum est. Qua ex causa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis dilectum, è corporis custodibus unum, ac multis nominibus ornatum ad inclytam Constantinopolis civitatem pro agente misimus: qui ex privilegiorum prædictorum præscripto nostras & subditorum nostrorum res in illis locis constitueret. Facere igitur non potuimus, quin Excellentiæ vestræ Guilielmum hunc, pro ea qua apud magnum Cæsarem polles authoritate, commendaremus: petentes summopere ut tutò in mari sine Classiariorum vestrorum violentia, & securè in portibus absque ministrorum rapinis & injuria, tam ipse quàm omnes Angli subditi nostri possint versari: uti pro tenore literarum patentium à magno Cæsare concessarum illis licere ex illarum conspectione perspicuum esse potest. Gratissimum ergo nobis excellentia vestra fecerit, si portuum omnium, aliorúmque locorum, qui vestræ jurisdictioni parent, custodibus, item classium & navium præfectis omnibus mandare velit, ut Guilielmus iste, iliíque Angli subditi nostri cum in illorum erunt potestate, amicè &

humaniter tractarentur. Quemadmodum nos vicissim omnes magni Cæsaris subditos omni humanitatis genere tractabimus, si in Oceani maria, aliáve loca venerint, quæ nostro parent imperio. Postremo excellentiam vestram pro eo quem in nostros extendet favore iis omnibus officiis prosequemur, quæ à gratissima principe in optime de se merentes debent proficisci. Benè & fœliciter valeas. Datum è castro nostro Windesorii die vicessimo mensis Novembris, Anno Jesu Christi salvatoris nostri 1582. Regni verò nostri vicessimo quarto.

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indevoured at Constantinople, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawen by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, and given to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.

1 ANile wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed or roote.

2 And the Arte of compounding of the same.

3 And also all other herbes used in dying in like maner to bee brought in.

4 And all Trees, whose Leaves, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serve to that use, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.

5 All little Plants and Buskes serving to that use to be brought in.

6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren used in dying, and their naturall places, for possible the like may here be found upon sight.

7 Also with the materials used in dying, to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.

8 To procure from Muhaisira a citie in Ægypt to Constantinople, the seed of Sesamum the herbe, and the same into this realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Constantinople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and many mils set on worke about the same in the sayd Muhaisira, and if this seede may prosper in England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate upon Nilus the river, and thence this is brought to Venice and to divers other Cities of Italie, and to Antwerpe.

9 To note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same.

10 To endevour rather the vent of Kersies, then of other Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.

11 To endevour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with forren colours.

12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the trade.

13 To endevour vent of knit Stocks made of Norwich yarne, & of other yarne, which brought to great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefite, besides the vent of the substance, of our colours, and of our divers labour.

14 To endevor a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our poore people: for a large vent found, it setteth many on worke.

Remembrances for master S. to give him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in England, and after of some other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foresayd master Richard Hakluyt, for a principall English Factor at Constantinople 1582. [II. i. 161.]

Since all men confesse (that be not barbarously bred) that men are borne as well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne private benefite, it may seeme follie to perswade that point, for each man meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or summe of the matter, since every good man is ready to imploy his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may bee done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things so to bee done be divers, so are they to bee done by divers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, some tend more, and some lesse, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And understanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some indevour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and give an infinite sorte of the poore people occasion to pray for you here throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

1 First, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the most fine Wooll, the most soft, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloth, and most apte of nature of all other to receive Die, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeeld so great abundance of the same: and that no Wooll is lesse subject to mothes, or to fretting in presse, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.

2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subjects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Navie of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed. Turkie hath Wools, and so have divers provinces of Christendome and of Heathenesse, and cloth is made of the same in divers places.

1 But if England have the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the same, excellent artificiall, and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we shall have vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workemanship and their dying were in every degree equal with ours of England, unlesse the labour of our people imployed that way, and the materials used in dying should be the cause of the contrary by dearth.

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and

shall die the same in truer, surer, and more excellent and more delectable colours, then shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the English cloth of better wooll shall rest unsold, to the spoyle of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people imploied in clothing in severall degrees of labour here in England.

Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme, and after in Turkie, to indevour from time to time, as your laisure may permit the same.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne: [II. i. 162.]

1 TO know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or forren, be ye same in Felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatsoever, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking; as the sorting together of Wools of severall natures, some of nature to shrinke, some to hold out, which causeth cloth to cockle and lie uneven.

The evill sorting of threed of good or bad wooll, some tootoo hard spun, some tootoo soft spun delivered to be woven.

The faults in Weaving.

The faults in Walking, Rowing, and Burling, and in Racking the Clothes above measure upon the Teintors: all which faults may be learned of honest men, which faults are to be knowen to the merchant, to be shunned and not to be used.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to discerne all kind of colours; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the substances bee deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and substaunces used in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials used in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to serve your Countrey, for by this meanes you have an enterie into the thing that I wish you to travell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the businesse of your Factorship.

1 FOrasmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee most excellently died, you shall send home into this realme certaine Mowsters or pieces of Shew to be brought to the Diers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remoove out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they have conceived of their owne cunning, and partly to moove them for shame to endevour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the universall benefit of the realme.

2 You shall devise to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought up in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of skill, or rather to devise to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas meane, or if your owne credite there be not sufficient by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambassador there resident, for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his

acquaintance, and otherwise to leave no meane unsought that tendeth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumstances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and substances that the Turkes use in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els soever. But before all other, such things as yeeld those famous colours that carrie such speciall report of excellencie, that our Merchaunts may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a right meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the use of those, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of those parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which devoureth yeerely great treasure) may be brought downe. So shall [II. i. 163.] the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shalbe able to occupy with lesse stocke, be able to afoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe & plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent use, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c : for by such meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath set many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the most excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Ilands of the same, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this

realme, and came to good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it doth marvellously import this realme to make naturall in this realme such things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such things as colour blew, they are of greatest use, and are grounds of the most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellowes and greenes are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Olde and Greenweed wherewith they be died be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes so died to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore subjects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall colours we consume not our treasure in forren colours, and yet we sell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely speciall thing. For in this so temperate a climat our people may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in some regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flatnesse of their rivers cannot make Walkmilles for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dresse all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes are raised to an higher price, we of England have in all Shires store of milles upon falling rivers. And these rivers being in temperate zones are not dried up in Summer with drought and heat as the rivers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen up in Winter as all the rivers be in all the North regions of the world : so as our milles

may go and worke at all times, and dresse clothes cheaply. Then we have also for scowring our clothes earths and claies, as Walkers clay, and the clay of Oborne little inferior to Sope in scowring and in thicking. Then also have we some reasonable store of Alum and Copporas here made for dying, and are like to have increase of the same. Then we have many good waters apt for dying, and people to spin and to doe the rest of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Oile: the want whereof if any man could devise to supply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatsoever he were that could bring it about, might deserve immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and such a devise was offered to the Parliament and refused, because they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, some others having obtained the same before, that practised to worke that effect by Radish seed, which onely made a triall of small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oile in plenty: and now he that offered this devise was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the devise is dead with him.

Supply of the want of oile.

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisira there be many milles imployed in making of Oile of the seed of an herbe called Sesamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oily seed, and that there is plenty of this seede brought out of Egypt to divers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchants may easily bring of it, &c.

Leo Africanus lib. 8.

9 Having heerein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour used in Turky, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of

any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great use, then to bring of the same into this realme some Mowsters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can devise to make, the more ample vent of our commoditie we shall have, and the more sale of the labour of our poore subjects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our selves according to the desires of forren nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad [II. i. 164.] or narowe, long or short, white or blacke. 11 But with this proviso alwayes, that our cloth passe out with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be had: for (if vent might so admit it) as it were the greatest madnesse in the world for us to vent our wooll not clothed, so were it madnesse to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent the same in Kersies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a sacke of wooll in the one, and the like sacke of wooll in the other, of which I wish the marchant of England to have as great care as he may for the universall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a sacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And also not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the subjects of this realme may take as much benefit as is possible, and rather to seeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then such as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receive certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wish that our marchants procure Anile and such other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in divers other places, that this realme may have that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out with one place we may receive the same from another, and not buy the same

at the second or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of meere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchased.

1 How many severall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it sure. This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may inrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endevoured earnestly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembred.

IF you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottish cap as it were without brims, you should do your countrey much good: for as a sacke of wooll turned into fine Devonshire kersies doth set many more people on worke then a sacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser threed, so a sacke of wooll turned into those Bonets doth set many more poore people on worke, then a sacke turned into Kersies, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can indevour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a marvellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeast and Southwest thence.

2 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woorsted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to

our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kersies and in those knit wares may be couched in a small roome in the ship. And for these things our people are growen apt, and by indevour may be drawen to great trade.

3 Saffron the best of the universall world groweth in this realme, and forasmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in divers sorts, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I wish you to see whether you can finde out ample vent for the same, since it is gone out of great use in those parts. It is a spice that is cordiall, and may be used in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodnesse of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth yerely of that commodity fifteene moiles laden, and that those regions notwithstanding lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge shire revive the trade for the benefit of the setting of the poore on work. So would they doe in Hereford shire by Wales, where the best of all England is, in which place the soile yeelds the wilde Saffron commonly, which sheweth the naturall inclination of the same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and that way employed.

Leo Africanus lib. 4.

4 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telensin, about six miles: the inhabitants of which towne [II. i. 165.] in effect be all Diers. And it is sayd that thereabout they have plenty of Anile, & that they occupy that, and also that they use there in their dyings, of the Saffron aforesayd. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly ports of the Mediteran sea, is easily learned in your passage to Tripoli, or in returne from thence homeward you may understand it. It is reported at Saffronwalden that a

This may be learned at Alger.

Pilgrim purposing to do good to his countrey, stole an head of Saffron, and hid the same in his Palmers staffe, which he had made hollow before of purpose, and so he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like love in this our age were in our people that now become great travellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans having that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italie all arts and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, busks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleasure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancesters, then had our life bene savage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we injoy, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we use more the first inhabitors of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things have bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker king Henry the seventh and king Henrie the eights Physician, the Turky cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his travell, and the Abricot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within these foure yeeres there have bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria divers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and those and other procured thither a little before from Constantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Clusius. And it is sayd that since we traded to Zante

that the plant that beareth the Coren is also brought into this realme from thence ; and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit us to have good wines of them. And many other things have bene brought in, that have degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in have by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them ; and many people have received great health by this plant: and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the first labour be lost. The seed of Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many have bene eased of the reumes, &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a journey to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West Indies, and to divers other places neerer and further off then any of these, yet forasmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich setled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make sute to such as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to have some care heerein, and to set before their eyes the examples of these good men, and to endevour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses may permit the same. Thus giving you occasion by way of a little remembrance, to have a desire to do your countrey good, you shall, if you have any inclination to such good, do more good to the poore ready to starve for reliefe, then ever any subject did in this realme by building of Almeshouses, and by giving of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to drive idlenesse the mother of most mischiefs out

of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the West Indies.

The voyage of the Susan of London to Constantinople, wherein the worshipfull M. William Harborne was sent first Ambassadour unto Sultan Murad Can, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Majesties Ligier almost sixe yeeres.

THE 14 of November 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Constantinople, in the tall shippe called the Susan of London: the Master whereof was Richard Parsons, a very excellent and skilfull man in his facultie. But by occasion of contrary weather we spent two moneths before we could recover the Kowes in the Isle of Wight. Where the 14 of [II. i. 166.] January following we tooke in the worshipfull M. *January the foureteenth.* William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassadour to the Turke, and his company, and sailed thence to Yarmouth in the foresayd Isle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we did see Cavo de Sant Vincente. *C. Vincente.* The same day we were thwart of Cavo Santa Maria. *C. Santa Maria.* The 27 we passed by Tariffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 *Tariffa.* in the morning we passed by Velez Malaga: and that *Velez Malaga.* night were thwart of Cavo de Gates. The 29 at night *C. de Gates.* we had sight of Cavo de Palos. The 30 in the *C. de Palos.* morning we did see the high land of Denia, in the *Denia.* kingdome of Valentia, and that night we had sight of the Iland Formentera. The 31 in the morning ap- *Formentera.* peared the Iland of Cabrera. The first of February *Cabrera.* we put into a Port in Mallorca, called Porto de Sant *February the first.* Pedro: where they would have evill intreated us for *Mallorca.* comming into the Harbour: we thought we might have bene as bolde there as in other places of Christen-

The shippes men goe on land at Porto de Sant Pedro.

dome, but it proved farre otherwise. The first man we met on land was a simple Shepheard, of whom we demanded whether we might have a sheepe or such like to refresh our selves, who tolde us yea. And by such conference had with him, at the last he came aboord once or twise, and had the best cheare that we could make him: and our Ambassadour himselfe talked with him, and still he made us faire promises, but nothing at all meant to performe the same, as the end shewed. In the meane time came in a shippe of Marseils, the Master whereof did know our Ambassadour very well, with whom our Ambassadour had conference, and with his Marchants also. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which is under the governement of the Great Turke. They did present our Ambassadour with an Ape, wherefore he made very much of them, and had them often aboord. By them I suppose, he was bewrayed of his purpose as touching his message, but yet still we had faire words of the Shepheard aforesayd, and others. So that upon their words, our Purser and another man went to a Towne which was three or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had of the people very faire speeches, and such small things as could be gotten upon the sudden, and so returned to the shippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well, according to their talke. The next day, being the sixth day of Februarie, two of our Gentlemen, with one of our Marchants, and the Purser, and one of the Ambassadours men went to the Towne aforesayd, thinking to doe as the Purser and the other had done before, but it prooved contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire wordes a while, and had bread and wine, and such necessaries for their money, untill such time as they were beset with men, and the Majorcans never shewed in their countenance any such matter, but as the maner of all the people in the dominions of Spaine is, for the most part to

The Ambassadour betrayed.

February the sixth.

be trecherous to us, if they thinke they have any advantage. For upon the sudden they layed handes on them, and put them in holde, as sure as might be in such a simple Towne. Then were they well guarded with men both day and night, and still deluded with faire words, & they sayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy of the Iland would come aboord to see the shippe. But they presently sent the Purser to the Towne of Majorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very straightly, what their shippe and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confessed nothing at all. In the meane time they in the Towne were likewise straightly examined by a Priest and other officers upon their othes: who for their othes sake declared the whole estate of their voyage. The Ambassadours man was a French man, and therefore was suffered to goe to the shippe on a message, but he could tell the Ambassadour none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboord the shippe, and that our men should come with him, but they had another meaning. For the Marseilian Marchants were stayed in like maner in the Towne, onely to make a better shew unto us. But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there came men unto us every day, more or lesse, but one day especially there came two men on horsebacke, whom we tooke to be officers, being lusty men, and very well horsed. These men desired to speake with our Captaine (for all things that passed there were done in the name of our Captaine John Gray) for it was sayd by us there, that he was Captaine of one of her Majesties shippes: wherefore all things passed in his name: and the Ambassadour not seene in any thing but rather concealed, and yet did all, because of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himselfe went on land clothed in Velvet, and talked with these men, and with him ten or twelve lusty fellowes well weaponed, ech one having

The English men are surprised.

The Spaniards come to the sea side to speake with the captaine.

a Boarespeare or a Caliver, the Captaine John Gray being one of them, and our boat lying by very warely kept and ready. For then wee began to suspect, because the place was more frequented with men then it was woont. The men on horsebacke were in doubt to come neere, because hee came so well weaponed. But they bade him welcome, and gave him great salutations in words as their maner is: and demanded why he came so strong, for they sayd he needed not to feare any man in the Iland. Answere was made, that it was the maner of English Captaines to goe with their guard in strange places. Then they tolde our [II. i. 167.] Ambassador (thinking him to be the Captaine) that they were sent from the Viceroy to know what they did lacke, for they promised him beefe or mutton, or any thing that was in the Iland to be had, but their purpose was to have gotten more of our men if they could, and they sayde that wee should have our men againe the next day: with such prety delusions they fed us still. Then our Ambassadour did write a letter to the Viceroy in her Majesties name, and in our Captaine John Grayes name, and not in his owne, and sent it by them, desiring him to send his men, and not to trouble him in his voyage, for he had given him no such cause, nor any of his. So these men departed with great courtesie in words on both parts. And in all this time we did see men on horsebacke and on foot in the woods and trees more then they were accustomed to be, but we could perceive nothing thereby. The next day, or the second, came either foure or sixe of the best of them as wee thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men besides in the fieldes, both on foot and on horse, but came not neere the water side. And those in like order desired to speake with the Captaine, and that when he came on land the trumpets might sound: but then the Ambassadour, whom they thought to be Captaine, would not goe, nor suffer the trumpets to be sounded (for that

The Spaniards come againe to parle.

he thought it was a trappe to take himselfe, and more of his company. But did send one of the principall of the Marchants to talke with them. And the Captaine John Gray went also with him, not being knowen of the Spaniards, for he went as a souldiour. Thus they received of those men the like wordes as they had of the other before mentioned, who sayd we should have our men againe, for they meant us no hurt. Then our Ambassadour did write another letter, and sent it by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he received no answere of any of them. In all this time they had privily gathered together the principall men of the Iland, and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordinance, not making any shew of their trecherie towards us. But the same night following, we saw very many lights passe in the woods among the trees. And in the morning when the watch was broken up, being Saturday the ninth of Februarie, at faire day light, one of our men looked foorth, and saw standing on land the cariage of a piece: then was one commanded to goe into the toppe, and there he did descrie two or three pieces, and also many men on the shoare, with divers weapons that they brought. Then they suddenly tooke foure or five brasse pieces, and placed them on either side of the harborough where we should go out, and hid them with stones and bushes that we should not see them. Now I thinke the harborough not to be above the eight part of a mile over. Thus perceiving their meaning which was most plaine: wee agreed to take up our anker and goe out, and leave our men there, having none other way to take. Then our Ambassadour intreated the Master of the Marseilian, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the trueth: who satisfied his request. And at his returne he tolde us that it was very true, that they would lay holde of us if they could. Then we weighed our ankers: but having little winde, we towed the shippe forward with the boat. The Viceroy himselfe was at the water side with more then

The Ambassadour writeth to the Viceroy.

The ninth of February.

five hundred men on both sides of the harbour as we thought. And when we came out with our shippe as far as their ordinance, our Ambassadour and the Captaine being in their armour, the Master commanding of the company, and trimming of the sailes, the Pilot standing on the poope, attending to his charge, with other very well furnished, and every man in order about their businesse very ready, they on land on the contrary part having a very faire piece mounted on the North side openly in all our sights, as the shippe passed by, they traversed that piece right with the maine mast or after-quarter of the shippe, and a Gunner standing by, with a lint-stocke in his hand, about foureteene or fifteene foot long, being (as we thought) ready to give fire. Our whole noise of trumpets were sounding on the poope with drumme and flute, and a Minion of brasse on the summer decke, with two or three other pieces, alwayes by our Gunners traversed mouth to mouth with theirs on land, still looking when they on land should shoot, for to answere them againe. The Pilot standing on the poope, seeing this readinesse, and the shippe going very softly, because of the calmenesse of the winde, he called to them on the South side, where the Viceroy was, and sayd unto him: Have you warres with us? If you have, it is more then we know; but by your provision it seemeth so: if you have, shoot in Gods name, and spare not, but they held all fast and shot not. Then the Viceroy himselfe held up a paper, and sayd he had a letter for our Captaine, and desired us to stay for it. Then we answered and sayd we would not, but willed him to send it by the Marseilians boat, and our men also. All this while, our trumpets, drum and flute sounded, and so we passed out in the face of them all. When they perceived that they could lay no holde on us, they presently sent to the Towne for our men, whom within lesse then three houres after they sent aboord with the sayd letter, wherein he desired our Captaine and his company not to take it in ill part, for he meant them no harme, but would have seene

The ship Susan prepareth to defend herselfe.

The effect of the Viceroys letter to the Captaine of the Susan.

our shippe. His letter did import these and such like faire speeches: for it altogether contained courteous salutations, saying that he might boldly come into any port [II. i. 168.] within his Iland, and that he and his would shew him what friendship they might: and that the injury that was offered was done at the request of the Shepheards and poore people of the countrey, for the more safegard of their flockes, and because it was not a thing usuall to have any such shippe to come into that port, with many other deceitfull words in the sayd letter. Then our *The effect of the Ambassadors answere.* Ambassadour wrote unto him another letter to answere that, and gave him thanks for his men that he had sent him, and also for his good will, and sent him a present. This done, we shot off halfe a dozen pieces, hoised our sailes, and departed on our voyage. Then the Purser and the rest of our men that had beene in holde, tolde us that they did see the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Iland, having their buskins and stockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the bushes day and night to make that sudden provision. The 12 of February we saw an Iland of Africa side called Galata, where they use *Galata.* to drag out of the Sea much Corall, and we saw likewise Sardinia, which is an Iland subject to Spaine. The 13 *Sardinia.* in the morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did see an Iland neere Sicilia, and an Iland on Africa side *Fauagniana.* called Cysimbre. The same day likewise we saw an Iland *Cisimbri.* called Pantalaria, and that night we were thwart the *Pantalaria.* middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as farre as *Sicilia.* Capo Passaro, which is the Southeast part of Sicilia. The *C. Passaro.* 24 we were put into a port called Porto de Conte, in an *Porto de Conte in Cephalonia.* Iland called Cephalonia: it is an out Iland in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this present governed by the Signory of Venice, as the rest of Grecia is under the Turke, for the most part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arrived at Zante which is also in *Zante.* Grecia: for at this present wee entred the parts of Grecia. The second of March we came from Zante; and the same day were thwart of an Iland called Prodeno: and *Prodeno.*

Sapientia. the 4 we were thwart of an Iland called Sapientia. There standeth a faire Towne and a Castle on the maine over against it, called Modon. The same day by reason of contrary windes we put backe againe to Prodeno, because we could not fetch Sapientia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapientia againe. The tenth we were as farre shot as Cavo Matapan ; and that day we entred the Archipelago, and passed thorow betweene Cerigo and Cavo Malio. This Cerigo is an Iland where one Menelaus did sometimes reigne, from whome was stollen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Recordes doe declare. The same day we had sight of a little Iland called Bellapola, and did likewise see both the Milos, being Ilands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Iland called Falconara, and the Iland of Antemila. The 12 in the morning we were betweene Fermenia and Zea, being both Ilands. That night wee were betweene Negroponte and Andri, being likewise Ilands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Psara and Sarafo, being Ilands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. So we put roome with a port in Metelin called Sigra, and about nine of the clocke at night we ankered there. The 15 we came from thence, the sixteenth we put into Porto Delfi. The port is 9 English miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelve of their miles) this night we stayed in the sayd port, being in the Iland of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one or two with him to the City of Chio. And when the By, who is the governour of the Iland (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with the Marchant, and those that were with him, and understood of our arrivall within his dominion, the day following he armed his gallies, and came to welcome our Ambassadour, accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings Customer, and also the French Consull, with divers of the chiefe of the City, and offered him as much friendship as he could or would desire : for he did offer to attend

C. Matapan.
Cerigo.
C. Malio.
Menelaus.
Bellapola.
Both Milos.
Falconara.
Antemila.
Fermenia,
Zea.
Negroponte.
Andri.
Psara. Sarafo.
Sigra, a port in Metelin.
Porto Delfin.
The city of Chio.
A By.
Ermin, or Customer.

upon us, and towe us if need were to the Castles. The 21 we departed from thence, and that day passed by port Sigra againe. This Iland of Metelin is part of Asia, and is neere to Natolia. The 22 we passed by a head land called Baberno, and is also in Asia. And that day at night we passed by the Isle of Tenedo, part of Asia, and by another Iland called Maure. And the same day we passed thorow the straights of Galipoli, and by the Castles, and also by the Towne of Galipoli it selfe, which standeth in Europa. And that night we were in sight of Marmora which is neere Natolia, and part of Asia. The 23 in the morning we were thwart of Araclia, and that night we ankered in Silauria. The 24 in the morning the Marchant and the Pilot were set on land to goe to the City about the Ambassadours businesse, but there they could not land because we had the winde faire. That place of some is called Ponte grande, and is foure and twenty miles on this side of Constantinople, and because of the winde, they followed in the skiffe untill they came to a place called Ponte picola, and there is a little bridge, it standeth eight Turkish miles from Constantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is an house of the great Turkes with a faire Garden belonging unto it, neere the which is a point called Ponta S. Stephano, and there the shippe ankered that day. The 26 day the ship came to the seven Towers, and the 27 we came neerer. The 29 there came three gallies to bring us up further: and when the shippe came against the great Turks palace, we shot off all our ordinance to the number of foure and thirty pieces. Then landed our Ambassadour, and then we discharged foure and twenty pieces, who was received with more then fifty or threescore men on horsebacke. The ninth of April he presented the great Bassa with sixe clothes, foure cannes of silver double gilt, and one piece of fine holland, and to three other Bassas, that is to say, the second Bassa, which is a gelded man, and his name is Mahomet Bassa, to

Baberno.
Tenedo.
Maure.
Galipoli.
Marmora.
Araclia.
Silauria.
Ponte grande.
Ponte picola.
Ponte S. Stephano.
[II. i. 169.]
The arrivall of the Susan at Constantinople.
The Ambassadour giveth a present to the great Bassa.

the third who maried the great Turks sister, and to the fourth whom they call Abraham Bassa, to every one of these he gave foure clothes. Now, before the great Bassa, and Abraham Bassa, at their returne from the Court (and as we thinke at other times, but at that time for a certaine) there came a man in maner of a foole, who gave a great shout three or foure times, crying very hollowly, the place rebounded with the sound, and this man, say they, is a prophet of Mahomet, his armes and legges naked, on his feet he did weare woodden pattens of two sorts, in his hand, a flagge, or streamer set on a short speare painted, he carried a mat and bottels, and other trumpery at his backe, and sometimes under his arme, on his head he had a cappe of white Camels haire, flat like an helmet, written about with letters, and about his head a linnen rowle. Other servingmen there were with the sayd Bassas, with red attire on their heads, much like French hoods, but the long flappe somewhat smaller towardes the end, with scuffes or plates of mettall, like unto the chape of an ancient arming sword, standing on their foreheads like other Janisaries. These Bassas entertained us as followeth: First, they brought us into a hall, there to stand on one side, and our Ambassadour and gentlemen on the other side, who sate them downe on a bench covered with carpets, the Ambassadour in the midst; on his left hand sate our gentlemen, and on his right hand the Turkes, next to the doore where their master goeth in and out: the common sort of Turkes stayed in the Court yard, not suffered to come neere us. When our Ambassadour had sitten halfe an houre, the Bassas (who sate by themselves in an inner small roome) sent for him; to whom the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went: they all kissed his hand, and presently returned (the Ambassadour onely excepted, who stayed there, and a Turks chaus with him) with the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went in also so many of our men as there

A man halfe naked goeth before ye great Bassa.

The Ambassadours entertainment with the Bassas.

were presents to cary in, but these neither kissed his hand nor taried. After this I went to visit the church of Santa Sophia, which was the chiefe church when it was the Christians, and now is the chiefe see and church of primacie of this Turke present: before I entred I was willed to put off my shoes, to the end I should not prophane their church, I being a Christian. The pillers on both sides of the church are very costly and rich, their Pulpets seemely and handsome, two are common to preach in, the third reserved onely for their Paschall. The ground is covered with Mats, and the walles hanged with Tapistry. They have also Lamps in their churches, one in the middle of the church of exceeding greatnesse, and another in another part of the church of cleane golde, or double gilded, full as bigge as a barrel. Round about the church there is a gallery builded upon rich and stately pillers. That day I was in both the chappels, in one of the which lieth the Turkes father, and five of his sonnes in tombes right costly, with their turbents very white and cleane, shifted (as they say) every Friday, they be not on their heads, but stand on mouldes made for that purpose. At the endes, over, and about their tombes are belts, like girdles, beset with jewels. In the other chappell are foure other of his sonnes, and one daughter, in like order. In the first chappell is a thing foure foot high, covered with greene, beset with mother of pearle very richly. This is a relique of Mahomet, and standeth on the left side of the head of the great Turks tombe. These chappels have their floores covered, and their walles hanged with Tapistrie of great price, I could value the covering and hangings of one of the chappels, at no lesse then five hundred poundes, besides their lamps hanging richly gilded. These chappels have their roofes curiously wrought with rich stone, and gilded. And there lie the bookes of their Lawes for every man to reade. The 11 day of April the shippe came to the Key of the Custome

Santa Sophia.

A discription of their church.

The ship commeth to the custome house.

The Ambassador presenteth the Admirall Uchali.

house. The 16 the Ambassadour and we his men went to the Captaine Bassa, who is Admirall of the seas, his name is Uchali, he would not receive us into his house, but into his gallie, to deliver our present, which was as followeth: Foure pieces of cloth, and two silver pots gilt & graven. The poope or sterne of his gally was gilded both within and without, and under his feet, and where he sate was all covered with very rich Tapistry. Our Ambassadour and his gentlemen kissed his hand, and then the gentlemen were commanded out, and our Ambassadour sate downe by him on his left hand, and the chaus stood before him. Our men might walke in the gally fore and after, some of us taried, and some went out againe. The gally had seven pieces of brasse in her prowe, small and great, she had thirty bankes or oares on either side, and at every banke or oare seven men to rowe.

The Susan goeth from the Custome house. The Admirall departeth to the sea.

[II. i. 170.]

The 18 day the shippe went from the Key. And 21 the Admirall tooke his leave of the great Turke, being bound to the Sea with sixe and thirty gallies, very fairely beautified with gilding and painting, and beset with flags and streamers, all the which gallies discharged their ordinance: and we for his farewell gave him one and twenty pieces. Then he went to his house with his gallies, and the 22 he went to the Sea, and the Castle that standeth in the water gave him foureteene or sixteene pieces: and when he came against the Turks Seraglio he shot off all his calivers and his great pieces, and so hee went his way.

The Ambassadours repaire to the great Turks court.

The 24 our Ambassadour went to the Court, whose entertainement with the order thereof followeth. When wee came first on land there was way made for us by two or three Bassaes and divers chauses on horseback with their men on foot, to accompany our Ambassadour to the Court. Also they brought horses for him and his gentlemen for to ride, which were very richly furnished: and by the way there met with us other chauses to accompany us to the Court.

When we came there wee passed thorow two gates, at the second gate there stood very many men with horses attending on their masters. When we came within that gate we were within a very faire Court yard, in compasse twise so bigge as Pauls Church-yard. On the right hand of the sayd Court was a faire gallerie like an Alley, and within it were placed railes and such other provision. On the left side was the like, halfe the Court over: it was divided into two parts, the innermost fairer then the other. The other part of that side is the place where the Councell doe usually sit, and at the inner end of that is a faire place to sit in, much like unto that place in Pauls Church-yard, where the Maior and his brethren use to sit, thither was our Ambassadour brought, and set in that place. Within that sayde place is another like open roome, where hee did eate. Assoone as wee came in, wee were placed in the innermost alley of the second roome, on the left side of the Court, which was spread with carpets on the ground fourescore or fourescore and tenne foot long, with an hundred and fiftie severall dishes set thereon, that is to say, Mutton boiled and rosted, Rice diversly dressed, Fritters of the finest fashion, and dishes daintily dight with pritty pappe, with infinite others, I know not how to expresse them. We had also rosted Hennes with sundry sorts of fowles to me unknowen. The gentlemen and we sate downe on the ground, for it is their maner so to feede. There were also Greekes and others set to furnish out the roome. Our drinke was made with Rose water and Sugar and spices brewed together. Those that did serve us with it had a great bagge tied over their showlders, with a broad belt like an arming belt full of plates of copper and gilt, with part of the sayd bagge under his arme, and the mouth in his hand: then he had a devise to let it out when he would into cuppes, when we called for drinke. The Ambassadour when hee had eaten, passed by us, with

The entertainment at dinner of the Ambassadours men.

the chauses aforesayd, and sate him downe in an inner roome. This place where he sate was against the gate where we came in, and hard by the Councell chamber end, somewhat on the left side of the Court, this was at the East end of the Court, for we came in at the West. All this time our presents stood by us untill we had dined, and diner once ended, this was their order of taking up the dishes. Certaine were called in, like those of the Blacke gard in the Court of England, the Turks call them Moglans. These came in like rude and ravening Mastifs, without order or fashion, and made cleane riddance: for he whose hungry eye one dish could not fill turned two, one into the other, and thus even on the sudden was made a cleane riddance of all. Then came certaine chauses and brought our gentlemen to sit with the Ambassadour. Immediatly came officers & appointed Janisers to beare from us our presents, who caried them on the right side of the Court, and set them hard by the doore of the Privy chamber, as we call it: there all things stoode for the space of an houre. Thus the Ambassadour and his gentlemen sate still, and to the Southward of them was a doore whereas the great Turke himselfe went in and out at, and on the South side of that doore sate on a bench all his chiefe lordes and gentlemen, and on the North side of the West gate stood his gard, in number as I gesse them a thousand men. These men have on their heads round cappes of mettall like sculles, but sharpe in the toppe, in this they have a bunch of Ostridge feathers, as bigge as a brush, with the corner or edge forward: at the lower end of these feathers was there a smaller feather, like those that are commonly worn here. Some of his gard had smal staves, & most of them were weaponed with bowes and arrowes. Here they waited, during our abode at the Court, to gard their Lord. After the Ambassadour with his gentlemen had sitten an houre and more, there came three or foure chauses, and brought them into the great Turkes

MAHOMET BAIAZETO SELIM SOLIMANO SELIM AMVRATH OT.

SOLIMAN ORCANI AMIRATI AIAZITI MAHOMET AMVRATE

ARSENALE

PERA

CASTEL nuo de...

BYZANTII VERA QVONDAM ORTHODOXIS

presence. At the Privy chamber doore two noble men tooke the Ambassadour by ech arme one, and put their fingers within his sleeves, and so brought him to the great Turke where he sumptuously sate alone. He kissed his hand and stood by untill all the gentlemen were brought before him in like maner, one by one, and ledde backewards againe his face towards the Turke; for they might neither tarry nor turne their backs, and in like maner returned the Ambassadour. The salutation that the Noble men did, was taking them by the hands. All this time they trode on cloth of golde, most of the Noble men that sate on the South side of the Privy chamber sate likewise on cloth of golde. Many officers [II. i. 171.] or Janisaries there were with staves, who kept very good order, for no Turke whatsoever might goe any further then they willed him. At our Ambassadours entring they followed that bare his presents, to say, twelve fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate double gilt, one case of candlesticks, the case whereof was very large, and three foot high and more, two very great cannes or pots, and one lesser, one basin and ewer, two poppinjayes of silver, the one with two heads: they were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire mastifs in coats of redde cloth, three spaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hound, two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of silke: one clocke valued at five hundred pounds sterling: over it was a forrest with trees of silver, among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horse-backe following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these were of silver. And the clocke was round beset with jewels. All the time that we stayed at the Councell chamber doore they were telling or weighing of money to send into Persia for his Souldiours pay. There were carried out an hundred and three and thirty bags, and in every bagge, as it was tolde us, one thousand ducats, which amounteth

The Turke is presented with a rich present.

to three hundred and thirty thousand * , and in sterling English money to fourescore and nineteene thousand pounds. The Captaine of the guard in the meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the Court made obeisance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on their breasts, and he in like order resaluted them : he was in cloth of silver, he went and came with two or three with him and no more. Then wee went out at the first gate, and there we were commanded to stay untill the Captaine of the guard was passed by and all his guard with him, part before him and part behinde him, some on horsebacke and some on foot, but the most part on foot carrying on their shoulders the money before mentioned, and so we passed home. There was in the Court during our abode there, for the most part a foole resembling the first, but not naked as was the other at the Bassas : but he turned him continually, & cried Hough very hollowly. The third of May I saw the Turke go to the church : he had more then two hundred and fifty horses before and behinde him, but most before him. There were many empty horses that came in no order. Many of his Nobilitie were in cloth of golde, but himselfe in white sattin. There did ride behinde him sixe or seven youthes, one or two whereof carried water for him to drinke as they sayd. There were many of his guard running before him and behinde him, and when he alighted, they cried Hough very hollowly, as the aforesayd fooles.

A letter of Mustapha Chaus to the Queenes most excellent Majestie.

SErenissima, prudentissima, & sacra Regia Majestas, domina mihi semper clementissima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratissimámque commendationem. Generosus & virtuosus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus vestræ Majestatis venit ad portam excelsissimam potentissimi & invictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Cæsaris Sultan Murad Can, cui Deus omni-

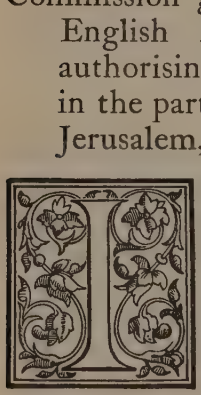
potens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantáque humanitate aliorum confœderatorum legati accipiuntur, præfatus quoque legatus vester tanta reverentia, tantáque amplitudine acceptus & collocatus est in porta excelsissima. Et posthac subditi & homines vestræ sacræ Majestatis ad ditiones omnes Cæsareas venire, & sua negocia tractare, & ad suam patriam redire sine impedimento, ut in literis excelsissimi, potentissimi, & invictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Cæsaris ad vestram sacram Regiam Majestatem datis facile patet, tranquillè & pacificè possunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam & fidele studium & nunc eodem confirmando navavi, & in futurum quoque usque in ultimum vitæ spiritum in negotiis potentissimi & invictissimi Cæsaris, & vestræ sacræ Regiæ Majestatis egregiam navabo operam. Quod Deus omnipotens ad emolumentum & utilitatem utriúsque Reipublicæ secundet. Amen. Sacram Regiam Majestatem fœlicissimè valere exopto. Datum Constantinopoli anno 1583, die octavo Maii.

A letter of the English Ambassadour to M. Harvie Millers, appointing him Consull for the English nation in Alexandria, Cairo, and other places of Egypt.

HAving to appoint our Consull in Cayro, Alexandria, Egypt, and other parts adjacent, for the safe protection of body and goods of her Majesties subjects; being well perswaded of your sufficient abilitie; in her Majesties name I doe elect and make choise of you, good friend Harvie Millers, to execute the same [II. i. 172.] worshipfull office, as shall be required for her Majesties better service, the commodity of her subjects, and my contentation: having and injoying for merit of your travell in the premisses the like remuneration incident to the rest of ours in such office in other parts of this Empire. Requiring you (all other affaires set aside) to

repaire thither with expedition, and attend upon this your charge, which the Almighty grant you well to accomplish. For the due execution whereof, we heerewith send you the Grand Signiors Patent of privilege with ours, and what els is needfull therefore, in so ample maner, as any other Consull whosoever doeth or may enjoy the same. In ayd whereof, according to my bounden duety to her Majesty our most gracious Mistresse, I will be ready alwayes to employ my selfe to the generall benefit of her Majesties subjects, for your maintenance in all just causes incident to the same. And thus eftsoones requiring and commanding you as above sayd, to performe my request, I bid you most heartily well to fare, and desire God to blesse you. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera this 25 of April 1583.

Commission given by M. William Hareborne the English Ambassadour, to Richard Forster, authorising him Consul of the English nation in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Jerusalem, &c.



William Harborne, her Majesties Ambassadour, Ligier with the Grand Signior, for the affaires of the Levant doe in her Majesties name confirme and appoint Richard Forster Gentleman, my Deputie and Consull in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Jerusalem, and all other ports whatsoever in the provinces of Syria, Palestina, and Jurie, to execute the office of Consull over all our Nation her Majesties subjects, of what estate or quality soever: giving him hereby full power to defend, protect, and maintaine all such her Majesties subjects as to him shall be obedient, in all honest and just causes whatsoever: and in like case no lesse power to imprison, punish, and correct any and all such as he shall finde disobedient to him in the like causes, even in

such order as I my selfe might doe by vertue of her Majesties Commission given me the 26 of November 1582, the copie whereof I have annexed to this present under her Majesties Seale delivered me to that use. Straightly charging and commanding all her Majesties subjects in those parts, as they will avoid her Highnesse displeasure and their owne harmes, to honour his authoritie, and have due respect unto the same, aiding and assisting him there with their persons and goods in any cause requisit to her Majesties good service, and commoditie of her dominions. In witnesse whereof I have confirmed and sealed these presents at Rapamat my mansion house by Pera over against Constantinople, the 20 of June 1583.

A letter of directions of the English Ambassadour to M. Richard Forster, appointed the first English Consull at Tripolis in Syria.

Ousin Forster, these few words are for your remembrance when it shall please the Almighty to send you safe arrivall in Tripolis of Syria. When it shall please God to send you thither, you are to certifie our Nation at Tripolis of the certaine day of your landing, to the end they both may have their house in a readinesse, and also meet you personally at your entrance to accompany you, being your selfe apparelled in the best maner. The next, second, or third day, after your comming, give it out that you be crazed and not well disposed, by meanes of your travell at Sea, during which time, you and those there are most wisely to determine in what maner you are to present your selfe to the Beglerbi, Cadi, and other officers: who every of them are to be presented according to the order accustomed of others formerly in like office: which after the note of John Blanke, late Vice-consull of Tripolis for the French, delivered you

heerewith, is very much: and therefore, if thereof you can save any thing, I pray you doe it, as I doubt not but you will. They are to give you there also another Janizarie according as the French hath; whose outward proceedings you are to imitate and follow, in such sort as you bee not his inferiour, according as those of our Nation heeretofore with him resident can informe you. Touching your demeanour after your placing, you are wisely to proceede considering both French and Venetian will have an envious eye on you: whome if they perceive wise and well advised, they will feare to offer you any injurie. But if they shall perceive any insufficiencie in you, they will not omitte any occasion to harme you. They are subtile, malicious, and dissembling people, wherefore you must alwayes have their doings for suspected, and warily walke in all your actions: wherein if [II. i. 173.] you call for Gods divine assistance, as doth become every faithfull good Christian, the same shall in such sort direct you as he shall be glorified, your selfe preserved, your doings blessed, and your enemies confounded. Which if contrarywise you omit and forget, your enemies malice shalbe satisfied with your confusion, which God defend, and for his mercies sake keepe you. Touching any outlopers of our nation, which may happen to come thither to traffike, you are not to suffer, but to imprison the chiefe officers, and suffer the rest not to traffike at any time, and together enter in such bonds as you thinke meete, that both they shall not deale in the Grand Signiors dominions, and also not harme, during their voyage, any his subjects shippes, vessels, or whatsoever other, but quietly depart out of the same country without any harme doing. And touching those there for the company, you are to defend them according to your priviledge & such commandements as you have had hence, in the best order you may. In all and every your actions, at any hand, beware of rashnesse and anger, after both which repentance followeth. Touching your dealings in their affaires of marchandise, you are not to deale

otherwise then in secret and counsell. You are carefully to foresee the charge of the house, that the same may be in all honest measure to the companies profit and your owne health through moderation in diet, and at the best hand, and in due time to provide things needfull, to save what may be: for he that buyeth every thing when he needeth it, harmeth his owne house, and helpeth the retailer. So as it is, in mine opinion, wisdome to foresee the buying of all things in their native soile, in due time, and at the first hand every yeere, as you are to send the company the particular accounts of the same expenses. Touching your selfe, you are to cause to be employed fifty or threescore ducats, videlicet, twenty in Sope, and the rest in Spices, whereof the most part to be Pepper, whereof we spend very much. The Spices are to be provided by our friend William Barrat, and the Sope buy you at your first arrivall, for that this shippe lading the same commodity will cause it to amount in price. From our mansion Rapamat, the fift of September 1583.

A letter to the right honourable William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signior from Alger.

RIght honorable, we have received your honors letters dated in Constantinople the 5 of November, and accordingly delivered that inclosed to the king of this place, requiring of him, according as you did command us in her Majesties name, that he would vouchsafe to give order to all his Captaines & Rajes that none of them should meddle with our English shippes comming or going to or from these parts, for that they have order not to passe by the Christian coast, but upon the coast of Barbary, and shewing him of the charter given by the Grand Signior, requiring him in like case that for the better fulfilling of the amity, friendship and holy league

betweene the Grand Signior and her Majesty, he would give us five or six safe-conducts for our ships, that meeting with any of his gallies or galliots, they might not meddle with them neither shoot at them: who made me answere he would neither give me any safe conduct nor commission to his men of war not to meddle with them, for that he trusted to take some of them this yere, and made good account thereof. In like maner I spake to the chiefe of the Janisers and the Levents, who made me answere, the best hope they had this yere was to take some of them, and although they have the Grand Signiors commandement we care not therefore: for we will by policy, or one meanes or other provoke them to shoot some ordinance, which if they do but one piece, the peace is broken, and they be good prizes. And some of them say further, we care not for their safeconduct, for if they shew it us, we will convey it away, we are sure the dogs cannot be beleeved against us. The premisses considered, your honor is with all speed to procure the Grand Signior his favorable letters directed to Hazan, the Cady, Captaines, Janisers, & Levents, & another like to Romadan Bassa, king of Tripolis, commanding them in no maner whatsoever to deale with our English ships bound into those parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they should shoot one at another: for when our ships shall meet them, for that, as your honor is advertised, the gallies of Carthagena, Florence, Sicilia and Malta have made a league to take all our ships comming in or going out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of these gallies of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them, and not knowing them a far off, they may shoot at them, which if therefore they should make them prizes, were against Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reason and conscience, considering that all the world doth know that Marchants ships laden with marchandise do not seeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwise to defend themselves from them, when they would do

them harme. Wherefore if your honor do not get out two letters of the Grand Signior as aforesayd, & send them hither with all speed by some one of your gentlemen accompanied with a chaus of the Court, or some other of the Grand Signiors servants, it is impossible that our English ships can escape freely from these or the Christians: for either they must of force go on the Christian coast, and so fall into their hands, or els on this coast, and fall into the kings of this towne, or Tripolis, their hands, which if they should, will never be recovered. And if your honor cannot obtaine this thing, I beseech your honor in the behalfe of all the English marchants (who sent me hither to follow such order as your honor should give me) to certifie her Majesty, to the end that they may be commanded to leave off traffique, and not to lose their goods, and her poore subjects the Mariners. And thus humbly taking my leave, I desist from troubling your honor. From Algier the tenth of February 1583. [II. i. 174.]

A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the Grand Signior his commandements.

DOmine Mustapha, nescimus quid sibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem utilem concessa perperàm reddas, quæ male scripta, plus damni, quàm utilitatis adferant: quemadmodum constat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus summum aut principale deest aut aufertur. In posterum noli ita nobiscum agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in nostrum & tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum spem Turcicè scriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita providere debes, ut non eveniant hujusmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum aut scriptum aliquod accipias, verbum ad verbum convertatur

in Latinum sermonem, ne damnum insequatur. Nosti multos habere nos inimicos conatibus nostris invidentes, quorum malitiæ vestræ est prudentiæ adversari. Hi nostri, Secretarius & minimus interpres ex nostra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata. Ut deinceps similes errores non eveniant precamur. Ista emendes, & cætera Serenissimæ regiæ Majestatis negocia, uti decet vestræ conditionis hominem, meliùs cures. Nam unicuique suo officio strenuè est laborandum ut debito tramite omnia succedant: quod spero te facturum. Bene vale.

The Pasport in Italian granted to Thomas Shingleton Englishman, by the king of Algier. 1583.

NOi Assan Basha Vicere & lochotenente e capitan della jurisditione de Algier doniamo e concediamo libero salvo condutto a Thomas Shingleton mercadante, che possi con suo vassello e marinari de che natione se siano, e mercadantia di qual si voglia natione, andare & venire, e negotiare, e contrattare liberamente in questa citta de Algier & altri lochi de la nostra jurisditione cosi di ponente comi di Levante: & cosi anchora commandiamo al capitan di mare di Algier & d' altri lochi de nostra jurisditione, Rais de Vasselli & capitani de Levante, & altri capitani di vasselli tanto grossi como picholi, si commanda a qual si voglia, che trovando il sopradetto Thomas Shingleton Inglese nelli mari di Genua, Francia, Napoli, Calabria, e Sardigna con suo vassello e mercantia, & homini de che nationi si siano, non gli debba molestare, ne piggliare, ne toccare cosa de nessuna manera tanto di denare, como di qual si voglia altra robba, sotto la pena e disgratia di perdir la vita & la robba: Et per quanto havete a caro la gratia del Gran Signor nostro patrone Soltan Murates Ottomano, lo lasciarete andare per suo camino senza dargli nessuno impedimento. Dato in

Algieri in nostro reggio Palazzo, sigillato del nostro reggio sigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, & scritto del nostro reggio Secretario, il di 23 de Jenaro, 1583.

The same in English.

WE Assan Bassha Viceroy and lieutenant, and captaine of the jurisdiction of Algier, give and grant free safeconduct to Thomas Shingleton marchant, that with his ship and mariners, of what nation soever they be, & with his marchandize of what countrey soever, he may go and come, and trade & traffique freely in this city of Algier, and other places of our jurisdiction, as well of the West as of the East. And in like sort we further command the captaine of the sea of Algier, and other places of our jurisdiction, the Reiz of vessels & captaines of the Levant, & other captaines of vessels aswell great as small, whosoever they be, we do command them, that finding the foresayd Thomas Shingleton Englishman in the seas of Genua, France, Naples, Calabria, and Sardinia, with his ship and merchandize, [II. i. 175.] and men of what nation soever they be, that they molest them not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, under paine and peril of loosing of their lives and goods: and as you make account of the favour of the Grand Signor our lord Sultan Murates Hottoman, so see you let him passe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Alger in our kingly palace, signed with our princely Signet, and sealed with our great seale, and written by our Secretarie of estate, the 23. of Januarie, 1583.

[A letter

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne, to the king of Alger, the 20. of July, 1584. in the behalfe of certaine English captives there detained.

Uy alto y poderoso Rey,

Sea servida vostra alteza. Como la muy alta y potentissima magestad del Gran Senor tiene hecho articulos de privilegios con la Serenissima Magestad de nuestra Reyna d'Inglatierra, para los vassallos della poder libremente yr y bolver, y tratar por mar y tierra en los dominios de su potentissima Magestad, Como a la clara paresce por los dichos articulos, de che embiamos el tractado al Senor Juan Tipton nuestro commissario, para le muestrar a vostra Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galeras de su ciudad de Alger ha sido hechado al fondo en la mar un des nuestros navios que venia de Patras, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que allá se compraron, y las mas de la gente del la matados y ahogados en la mar, y el resto est an detenidos por esclavos: cosa muy contraria a los dichos articulos y privilegios. Que es occasion, que por esto supplicamos a vostra Alteza muy humilmente, que, pues que la potentissima magestad del Gran Sennor es servida nos favorescer por los dichos articulos, tambien sea servida vostra Alteza assistirnos en ellos, otorgandonos por vostra autoridad su ajuda y favor, segun que esperamos, para que puedan estar libres, y bolver para aca aquellos pobres hombres ansi hechos esclavos, como dicho es. Y ansi mismo, que mande vostra Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maestres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de aqui adelante hazer nuestro trafico con seys naos cada anno para Turquia a los dominios del gran Sennor a paz y a salvo, por no contrariar a los dichos nuestros privilegios, Llevando cada una de nuestras

dichas naos por se conoscer un salvo condutto de su alta & potentissima magestad. Y con esta vostra tan senallada merced y favor que en esso reciberemos, quedaremos nosotros con grandissima obligation a vostra Alteza de servir la por ello, segun que el dicho Sennor Juan Tipton, a quien nos reportamos de todo lo demas, mejor informera vostra Alteza: Cuya serenissima persona y estado supplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente prospere y accrescente con toda felicitad y honra. De la ciuidad de Londres a los veynte dias de Julio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.

Al servito de vuestra Alteza por y en nombre de todos los tratantes en Turquia, Io el Mayor de Londres,

Edward Osborne.

The same in English.

Right high and mightie king,

May it please your highnesse to understand, that the most high and most mightie majestie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of privileges with the most excellent majestie of our Queene of England, that her subjects may freely go and come, and traffique by sea and land in the dominions of his most mighty majesty, as appeareth more at large by ye said articles, whereof we have sent the copy unto M. Joh. Tipton our Commissarie, to shew the same unto your highnes. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships which came from Patras which is in Morea, laden with corants and other merchandizes which were bought in those parts, was sunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Alger, and the greatest number of the men thereof were slain and drowned in the sea, the residue being detained as slaves: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforesaid articles and privileges: which is the occasion that by these presents we beseech your highnesse very humbly, that since it hath pleased the most mightie majestie of the Grand Signor to favour us with the sayd

An English ship sunke by two gallies of Alger.

privileges, it would please your Highnesse in like maner to assist us in the same, graunting us by your authoritie, your ayde and favour, according as our hope is, that these poore men so detained in captivitie, as is aforesaid, may be set at libertie, & returne into their countrey. And likewise that your highnesse would send to give order to the captaines, masters and people of your gallies, that from hencefoorth they would suffer us to use our traffique with sixe ships yerely into Turkie unto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and safetie, [II. i. 176.] that they do not withstand those our said privileges, every one of our foresaid ships carying with them a passeport of his most high and most mightie majestie to be knowen by. And for that your so singular favour and curtesie which in so doing we shall receive, we on our part with all bounden duetie unto your highnesse, will seeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the sayd master John Tipton (to whom wee referre our selves touching all other circumstances) shall more at large enforme your highnesse, whose most excellent person and estate, we pray and beseech almighty God to prosper and increase with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London, the 20. of July, 1584.

At the service of your highnesse, for and in the name of our whole company trading into Turkie, I Maior of London, Edward Osburne.

Notes concerning the trade of Alger.

The money of Alger.

THe money that is coined in Alger is a piece of gold called Asiano, & Doublaes, and two Doublaes make an Asiano, but the Doubla is most used, for all things be sold by Doublaes, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aspers there.

The Asper there is not so good by halfe & more, as that in Constantinople; for the Chekin of gold of

the Turkes made at Constantinople is at Alger worth an 150. Aspers, and at Constantinople it is but 66. Aspers.

The pistolet and roials of plate are most currant there.

The said pistolet goeth for 130. Aspers there: & the piece of 4. roials goeth for 40. Aspers, but oftentimes is sold for more, as men need them to cary up into Turkie.

Their Asianos and Doublaes are pieces of course gold, worth here but 40.s. the ounce, so the same is currant in no place of Turkie out of the kingdom of Alger, neither the Aspers, for that they be lesse then others be, for they coine them in Alger.

The custome. The custome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the Turke, to be paid of the commoditie it selfe, or as it shall be rated.

There is another custome to the Ermine, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the Justice of the Christians: the goods for this custome are rated as they are for the kings custome.

Having paid custome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commoditie that you doe lade, more then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waights. The waight there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and spices &c. which is here 120.li. subtil.

Mettall not refined, as lead, iron, and such grosse wares, are sold by a great Cantare, which is halfe as big againe: so it is 180.li. subtil of ours here.

The measure. The measure of corne is by a measure called a Curtia, which is about 4. bushels of our measure, and corne is plentiful there and good cheape, except when there hapneth a very dry yeere.

The surest lodging for a christian. The surest lodging for a Christian there is in a Jewes house: for if he have any hurt, the Jew and his goods shall make it good, so the Jew taketh great care of the Christian and his goods that lieth in his house, for feare of punishment.

An Englishman called Thomas Williams, which is M. John Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the streete called The Soca of the Jewes.

Notes concerning the trade in Alexandria.

ALexandria in Egypt is a free port, and when a man commeth within the castles, presently the Ermyn sends aboord to have one come and speake with him, to know what goods are aboord: and then hee will set guards aboord the ship to see all the goods discharged. And then from the Ermin you goe to the *Bye, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and so from thence to the Consuls house where you lie. The Venetians have a Consul themselves. But all other nations goe to the French nations Consul, who will give you a chamber for your selves apart, if you will so have it.

This is another officer.

Other smal customs you pay besides, which may be at two in the hundred: and for Consullage you pay two in the hundred.

The customs inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, & the custome is paid in wares also that you buy: for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you sell for mony, you pay no more custome but the ten aforesaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd mony, for more custome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for mony, and with the same money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custome thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it be taken, you pay double custome for that you steale.

[II. i. 177.] The weight of Alexandria is called Pois Forforeine, which is a kintal in that place, which maketh at Marseils 109.li. of Marseils waight, at 15 ounces the pound, which is 103.li. of 16. ounces to the li. There

is another waight called Pois Gerrin, which is 150.li. of Marseils waight, by which are sold all things to eate: but spice is sold by the former waight.

Cairo three daies journey from Alexandria by land.

From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies journey, but you must take a Janissarie with you: & to go up thither by water it is 8. dayes journey. Roials of Spaine are currant mony there, and are the best money you can cary. And 4. roials are woorth 13. Medins, and 2. Medins, are 3. Aspers. Pistolets and crownes of France and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are best.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a present to the Bye and Ermine some may passe.

All sortes of spices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill disposed. And after you be searched & have leave to passe, you must presently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will search you againe. And you must depart in the day, for in the night the castles will not suffer you to depart. The duetie to the Consul is 2. in the hundred, for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Silver is better currant then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly the Caravans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices, and therfore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the Consuls houses. Yet oftentimes the christians go up to Cairo to buy drugs & other commodities there, as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible are all sorts of kersies, but the most part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is usually sold for 24. ducats the quintal,

Ginger for 14. ducats. You must take canvas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good store of Buffe hides.

A letter of the English ambassador to M. Edward Barton.

MAster Barton I send you 3. commandements in Turkish, with a copy thereof in English, to the ende our ships might not come in danger of breach of league, if they should shoote at the gallies of those of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis in the West: which after you have shewed the Bassas, receive againe into your hands, and see them registred, and then deliver one of them to our friend M. Tipton, & the like you are to do with the privilege which you cary with you, and see them jointly registred in the Cadies booke, delivering the copy of the said privilege sealed by the Cadi, also to the sayd our friend M. Tipton, taking a note of his hand for the receipt thereof, and for deliverie at all times to us or our assignes. And require them in her majesties and the grand Signors name, that they will have our ships passing too and fro under licence and safeconduct for recommended in friendly maner. Touching your proceedings in Tripolis with Romadan, as I have not received any advise thereof, since your departure, so must I leave you to God and my former direction. The ship patronised of Hassan Rayes, which you wrote to be ours, prooved to be a Catalonian. As for ours, by report of that Hassan and other Jewes in his ship, it was affirmed to be sold to the Malteses, which with the rest you are to receive there. And having ended these affaires and registred our privilege, and these three commandements, in Tripolis, Tunis, and Alger, I pray you make

speedy returne, and for that which may be recovered, make over the same either to Richard Rowed for Patrasso in Morea, or otherwise hither to John Bate in the surest maner you may, if the registring of that your privilege and these commandements will not suffer you in person to returne with the same. From my Mansion Rapamat in Pera this 24. of June 1584.

The commaundement obtained of the Grand Signior by her Majesties ambassador M. Will. Hareborne, for the quiet passing of her subjects to and from his dominions, sent in An. 1584. to the Viceroyes of Algier, Tunis & Tripolis in Barbary.

To our Beglerbeg of Algier.

E certifie thee by this our commandement, that the right honorable Will. Hareborne ambassador to the Queenes majestie of England hath signified unto us, that the ships of that countrey in their comming and returning to and from our Empire, on the one part of the Seas have the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians and Malteses, on the other part our countreis committed to your charge: which abovesaid Christians will not quietly suffer their egresse and regresse, into, and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men captives, and forfeit the [II. i. 178.] shippes and goods, as the last yeere the Malteses did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that end do continually lie in wait for them to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to stand to their defence at any such time as they might meet with them. Wherefore considering by this means they must stand upon their guard, when they shall see any gallie afarre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies and not knowing them, in their defence they do shoot at them, and yet after when they doe certainly know them, do not shoote any more, but

require to passe peaceably on their voiage, which you would deny, saying, the peace is broken because you have shot at us, and so make prize of them contrary to our privileges, and against reason: for the preventing of which inconvenience the said ambassador hath required this our commaundement. We therefore command thee, that upon sight hereof thou doe not permit any such matter in any sort whatsoever, but suffer the sayd Englishmen to passe in peace according to the tenour of our commandement given, without any disturbance or let by any means upon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them afarre off, they taking them for enemies should shoote at them, yet shall you not suffer them to hurt them therfore, but quietly to passe. Wherefore looke thou that they may have right, according to our privilege given them, & finding any that absenteth himself, & wil not obey this our commandement, presently certify us to our porch, that we may give order for his punishment, and with reverence give faithfull credite to this our commandement, which having read, thou shalt againe returne it unto them that present it. From our palace in Constantinople, the 1. of June, 1584.

A letter of the honorable M. Wil. Hareborne her majesties ambass. with the grand Signior to M. Tipton, appointing him Consul of the English in Algier, Tunis, & Tripolis of Barbarie.

MAster Tipton, I have received among others, yours of the 10. of November 1584. by Soliman Sorda, certifying the receipt of mine of the 24. of June 1584. with the 3. commandements, which not being registred, let it now be done. Where you write the force of the privilege to be broken by our ships in shooting, & therfore be lawfully taken, you are deceived, for of those taken

in them, hath the grand Signior now delivered us free, Wil. Moore, and Rob. Rawlings, & further promised the rest in like case, wheresoever they be, & that hereafter no violence shalbe shewed, considering ours be merchants ships which go peaceably in their voiage, & were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew afar off, whether they were friends or the Christians gallies in league against us, of whom they most doubted, who not suffring our ships to come into these parts, wil make prize of the goods & captive the men, so as they are not to let them come nigh them: & since ours have not done contrary to the articles of the same privilege, wherein is no order for Algier prescribed us, as both by the originall now sent us, & also by the copy now sent you from London you may perceive, they according to right are as abovesaid to be set free, and their goods restored, which if it be not there accomplished as the grand Signior hath now commanded & most faithfully promised, neither yet in case of their denial, those offenders punished here, and our injuries redressed, we are to demand our Congie, & command our merchants her majesties subjects, to end their traffike here, which in our countrey commodities is prooved & found by the grand Signior to be so beneficial to his countries as we are assured so well thereof, as also for the honor which his ancestors never had of friendship w^{t} so mighty a prince as is her majesty, he wil not but maintaine ye faith promised her, & the intercourse in due force. And where you say y^{t} the grand Signor his letters, in the behalf of the French, were no more accepted there, then of a mean man, nor tooke no place, that is not material to us, our letters are after another sort much more effectuall. For our case & theirs be found far different, in y^{t} they be not onely now out of favour with him, but also the commodities which they bring hither, as suger, paper, bracelets, ropes of bast almonds, &c. all which may be here wel spared, & we contrarily so wel esteemed, as he never denied us any thing since our

comming demanded, which neither their ambassador, nor the Venetian could have here, & therfore we rest perswaded, knowing the wisdom of the Beglerbeg, who is advised by his friends from hence, of this our credite w^t his master, he wil so respect his commandements, as to accomplish ye tenor therof according to our desire. And where you say y^t the Janizers rule all there, I know right wel y^t if things be not done as the grand Signior commandeth, his lieutenant must answer it. And therefore I am fully perswaded if he doe what he may they dare not resist him, for if they should, those rebels should not be unpunished of ye grand Signior. And though they speake their pleasures among themselves there, yet they be not so brutish, but they wel consider that their master ye grand Signior may not be gainsaid or mocked of any. For upon his word dependeth the life or death even of the chiefest, as I have seene since my comming hither. So whatsoever these Janizaries say, they will be better advised in their deedes then to withstand their Viceroy, if he himselfe wil use his lawfull power, which if hee doe not, hee cannot purge himselfe here of their evill proceedings against the grand Signiors friends: for the feet may not rule the bodie, but con-
[II. i. 179.] trarywise, the head, the feete, and all the rest of the members. And for that neither for feare, affection or otherwise you omit as a faithfull true subject to her majestie to do your dutie, I do by my warrant going herewith charge you, & in her majesties name, to the uttermost to use your good and faithful endevour, as becommeth a true subject, & in all things that may concerne her majesties good service, assisting the Chaus with the rest of our messengers in counsel, travel, & what els shall be thought requisite for your good discharge of your dutie. And to ye end you may boldly proceed herein as also for the good opinion sir Edward Osborne & the company have of you, and I no lesse perswaded of youre wisedom, upright dealing, & good experience in those parts, do send you herewith the grand

Signiors & our patents for exercising the office of Consul there, in Tripolis & Tunis: by vertue of which authoritie you may without feare proceed as the office doeth chalenge in defence of our privilege, to redresse all injuries offred our nation. Which if you cannot get reformed there of ye Beglerbies upon your complaint, I thereof advertised, shal doe it here, and to the uttermost maintaine you in al rightful causes whatsoever, doubt you not. And hereafter according to your advise, I wil and do give our ships order not to fight with any gallies of Alger, but to hoise out their skiffe and go aboord to shew them their safeconduct, & to present the captain with a garment, & you there in such like case are to take order that they do not forceably take any thing from them. Nothing doubting but the Viceroy (whose friendship in her majesties behalfe I desire) will not onely performe the same your just request, & according to right, restore to libertie our men since the privilege taken, but also cause those y^{t} tooke & sunke our ships to answere the value, which I have set downe truly, and rather with the least in the Inventorie translated into Turkish, whereof the inclosed is the copy in English, which I send to the end you may be the better informed of my demand by this our Chaus Mahomet, with whom in all things you are to conferre of matters expedient, for the honor of her majesties country, & the commoditie, and libertie of poore captives, which if the Viceroy do wel consider, according to his wisedom, as the grand Signior doeth thereof, he shal wel perceive it not onely a great honour to his master as aforesaid, to continue this amitie with her majestie, but chiefly to the whole estate of his kingdom exceeding profitable, which by this means shall be abundantly served with the chiefest commodities they want, with many other things of more importance to the grand Signior his contentation, not herein to be mentioned. For I know the Viceroies experienced wisdom can wel consider thereof, in such sort as he wil not deny to accomplish his masters commandement, & our earnest

The Inventorie of our ships and goods sunke and taken by the gallies of Alger.

request in so smal a matter as this we require, whereof I expect no refusall: for thereby he shall increase his honor with the grand Signior, be in credite with her majestie, be void of trouble which hereafter by future suite against him may happen, and his gallies free of such doubtful issue as doeth chance, fighting with our ships. Which, as it is well knowen to all the world, have so great hearts as never cowardly to yeeld to their enemies. And that therefore in that respect (after the proverbe, like esteeme of their like) they are the more of such a valiant prince as is their Viceroy and his couragious souldiers to be in all friendship cherished and better esteemed. If the captaine Bassa had bene returned from Capha, I would in like maner have procured his letters, which for that he is not, I doubt nothing but that the grand Signiors will suffise. Thus commending your selfe and these proceedings to the almighty his merciful direction, I bid you most heartily wel to fare. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera, this 30. of March 1585.

Series vel registrum valoris navium, bonorum, & hominum per triremes Argerienses ereptorum, una cum captivorum hominum nominibus, Beglerbego Argeriensi Hassano.

1 SAlomon de Plimmouth habuit 36. homines, onerata cum sale, onere trecentorum doliorum, valore Florenorum 5600.

2 Elizabetha de Garnesey cum decem hominibus Anglis, reliquis Britonibus, valore Florenorum 2000.

3 Maria Martin de London onere centum & triginta doliorum, rectore Thoma More cum triginta quinque hominibus, revertens de Patrasso cum mandato Cæsareo, valore Florenorum 1400.

4 Elizabeth Stokes de London, rectore David Fillie de London, Patrassum veniens cum mandato Cæsareo: hujus præcipuus valor erat in talleris numeratis, quos habuit Richardus Gibben, qui adduxit etiam Serenissimæ

Regineæ majestatis literas Cæsari & oratori. Valor reliquus in mercibus una cum superiori in talleris effecit Florenorum 21500.

5 Nicolaus de London, rectore Thoma Forster, onerata cum uvis siccis, valore Florenorum 4800.

In tempore Romadan Beglerbegi Argiræ spoliatæ & ereptæ naves, merces, & homines. [II. i. 180.]

1 JUdith de London, rectore Jacobo Beare, cum hominibus 24. valore Florenorum 3100.

2 Jesus de London, rectore Andræa Dier, cum 21. hominibus. Valorem hujus & 14. homines, reliquis mortuis, reddidit Romadan Bassa Tripolitanus Secretario legati, Edwardo Barten, valore Florenorum 9000.

Nomina hominum mancipatorum & viventium tunc temporis, quando Cæsar illustrissimus, & dominus Orator Chauseum Mahumetem miserunt Algiram.

1 Ante fœdus initum in nave Peter de Bristow. John Winter. Robert Barton.

2 In nave Swallow de London. Rich. Crawford. Anthony Elvers. Wil. Rainolds.

Post fœdus initum in nave Britona. James Yoong.

1 In nave Rabnet de Hampton. Thomas Lisney.

2 In nave Salomon. John Tracie. Wil. Griffith. Wil. Cocke.

1 In nave Elizabeth. John Woodward, Giles Naper, Leonard James, Oliver Dallimore, and Richard Maunsell.

2 In nave Maria Martin. Thomas Moore, Wil. White, Wil. Palmer, Nich. Long, Peter March, Rich. Haslewood, Wil. Dewly, Wil. Cowel, John Franke, Henry Parker, John Cavendish, Moises Robinson, James Sotherich, Henry Howel, Nich. Smith, Henry Ragster, Rich. Davison, Rich. Palmer.

3 In nave Elizabeth Stokes. David Fillie, Walter Street, Laurence Wilkins, Morgan Davis, John Quinte, Ambrose Harison, John Peterson, Tristram Vois, Roger Ribbe.

4 In nave Nicholas, Thomas Forster rector navis & ejus nautæ.

To Assan Aga, Eunuch & Treasurer to Hassan Bassa king of Alger, which Assan Aga was the sonne of Fran. Rowlie of Bristow merchant, taken in the Swalow.

Received your letters of Will. Hamor gentleman my servant very thankfully, aswel for the fervent faith that by his report I heare you have in our lord Jesus Christ, by whose onely merits and blood-shedding, you together with us and all other good Christians so truly beleeving, shalbe saved, as also for your faithfull obedience like a true subject to her Majestie, naturally loving your countrey & countreymen, declared in your favourable furtherance of the said Wil. Hamore, procuring their redemption. Of which your good & vertuous actions, as I rejoice to understand, so wil I impart the same to your singuler commendation, both to our mistresse her Majestie, & her most honorable counsellers the nobilitie of England, to whom assure your selfe the report shalbe very welcome. And now this second time I am inforced by duetie to God & her majesty, as also by the smal regard your master had of the Grand Signors former commandements, to complaine unto him, though not so vehemently as I had occasion by his most unworthy answer. But I hope, & the rather by your means, he will not contrary this second commandement, threatning him, not observing the same, losse of office & life. The due execution whereof by your vertuous & careful industry procured, wil manifest to all the world, especially to her majesty, &

me her ambassador, your true christian mind & English heart, intentively bent to Gods honor, & the libertie of the poore men, for which I trust you be ordained another Joseph, to folow his example in true pietie, in such sort that notwithstanding your body be subject to Turkish thraldom, yet your vertuous mind free from those vices, next under God addict to ye good service of your liege Lady & soveraigne princes, her most excellent majesty, wil continually seeke by all good means to manifest ye same in this & the like faithful service to your singuler commendation, wherby both my selfe & others in that place having found you in all good offices faithfully affectionated, may in like case performe the like towards you, when & where you may have occasion to use me: which as I for my part do assuredly promise, & wil no lesse faithfully performe: so accordingly I expect herein, and hereafter the like of you, whom most heartily saluted I commend to the divine tuition and holy direction. From my house Rapamat, this 28. of June 1586.

Your loving and good friend her Majesties
Ambassador with the Grand Signor,
Will. Hareborne.

A petition exhibited to the Viceroy for reformation of sundry injuries offered our nation in Morea, as also for sundry demaundes needefull for the establishing of the traffike in those parts. [II. i. 181.]

1 FIrst that our people may be freed of such wonted molestation, as the Janisers of Patrasso have alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be removed and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

2 That where heretofore the kings commandements have beene graunted to ours, that no person whatsoever

shall forceably take from them any of their commodities, otherwise then paying them before the deliverie thereof, for the same in readie money, at such price as they themselves will, and sell ordinarily to others, as also that no officer whatsoever, of the kings or any other, shall force them to buy any commodities of that countrey, otherwise then the needfull, at their owne will and pleasure, that the said commandements not heretofore obeyed may be renued with such straight charge for the execution of the same, as is requisite for their due effect.

3 That whereas sundry exactions and oppressions be offered ours by such Byes, Sanjacbies, justices and Cadies, Janizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into those parts, who finding there resident no other nation but only ours, will under the name of presents forceable take from them what they please: We do require to obvent these harmes, it may be specified by a commandement from the king to which of such his officers, presents may be given, and their sundry values, whereby both they and ours may rest contented, severely prohibiting in the said commandement, that they take no more then that appointed them, and that no other officers but those onely specified in that commaundement, doe forcibly require of them any thing whatsoever.

4 That the Nadir and Customer of the port, having permitted our ship to lade, doe not after demand of the marchants any other then the outward custome due to the king for the same goods. And being so laden, may by them and the Cadie with other their inferiour officers be visited, requiring for the visiting no more then formerly they were accustomed to pay at their first comming. After which the said ship to depart at the Consuls pleasure, without any molestation of them, or any other officer whatsoever.

5 That Mahomet Chaus, sometime Nadir of Lepanto, and Azon Agon his substitute being with him may be severely punished to the example of others, for often

and unjustly molesting our nation, contrarie to the kings commandement, which they disdainefully contemned, as also that the said Mahomet restore and pay unto ours thirtie for 300 sackes of currants nowe taken forcibly out of a barke, comming thither from the hither partes of Morea, to pay the king his custome, and that from hence forth, neither the said Mahomet, Azon Agon, nor any other officer or person whatsoever doe hinder or trouble any of ours going thither or to any other place about ther affaires.

6 That whereas certaine Jewes of Lepanto owing money to our marchants for commodities solde them, have not hitherto satisfied them, notwithstanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recovery of the same debts, but fled and absented themselves out of the Towne at the comming of the same, another more forcible commaundement may be graunted ours, that for nonpaiment, whatsoever may be found of theirs in goods, houses, vineyards, or any other thing, may be sold, and ours satisfied of their said debt, according to equitie and reason.

A commandement to Patrasso in Morea.

WHen this commandement shall come unto you, know you, that the Consull of the English Nation in our port of Patrasso, hath given us to understand, that formerly we granted him a commandement that having paied once custome for the currants bought to lade in their ships, they shall not pay it againe: according to which they bringing it to the port of Petrasso, informing thereof Mahomet the Nadir of Lepanto, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another custome of him, and requiring him to know why he so did contrary to our commandement, he answered us, he tooke it not for custome, but for a present. Moreover the sayd Consull certified us how that the said Nadir contrary to ancient custome doth not take for the kings right as he ought currents, but will have of the

poore men money at his pleasure, and therewith buyeth currents at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly sell to us at a much higher price, saying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this meanes doth hurt the poore men and do them wrong. Wherefore I com-
[II. i. 182.] mand you by this my commandement, that you looke to this matter betweene this Consull, the Nadir, and this people, and do therein equally according to right. And see that our commandement in this matter be observed in such sort, as they having once in the port paied full custome, do not pay it againe, neither that this Nadir do take any more money of them by the way of present, for that therein it is most certaine he doth them injurie contrary to the Canon. And if with you shall be found to the value of one Asper taken heretofore wrongfully of them, see it presently restored to them, without any default. And from hencefoorth see that he doe neither him nor his people wrong, but that he deale with them in all things according to our Canon, that the Consull and his hereafter have no occasion any more to complaine here in our Court, and that the Nadir proceed in gathering corants of the people after the old order and not otherwise. This know you for certaine, and give credit to this my commaundement, which having read deliver againe into the Consuls handes. From Constantinople the yeere of Mahomet 993.

A commandement for Chio.

VObis, Beg & Cadi & Ermini, qui estis in Chio, significamus: quòd serenissimæ Reginæ Majestatis Angliæ orator, qui est in excelsa porta per literas significavit nobis, quod ex navibus Anglicis una navis venisset ad portum Chio, & illinc Constantinopolim recto cursu voluisset venire, & contra privilegium detinuistis, & non sivistis venire. Hæc prædictus orator significavit nobis: & petivit a nobis in hoc negocio hoc mandatum, ut naves Anglicæ veniant & redeant in nostras ditiones Cæsareas. Privilegium datum & concessum est ex parte

Serenitatis Cæsareæ nostræ: & hujus privilegii copia data est sub insigni nostro: Et contra nostrum privilegium Cæsareum quod ita agitur, quæ est causa? Quando cum hoc mandato nostro homines illorum ad vos venerint ex prædicta Anglia, si navis venerit ad portum vestrum, & si res & merces ex nave exemerint, & vendiderint, & tricessimam secundam partem reddiderint, & res quæ manserint Constantinopolim auferre velint, patiantur: Et si aliquis contra privilegium & articulos ejus aliquid ageret, non sinatis, nec vos facite: & impediri non sinatis eos, ut rectà Constantinopolim venientes in suis negotiationibus sine molestia esse possint. Et quicunque contra hoc mandatum & privilegium nostrum aliquid fecerit, nobis significate. Huic mandato nostro & insigni fidem adhibete. In principio mensis Decembris.

A commandement for Baliabadram.

SErenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ orator literis supplicatoriis in porta nostra fulgida significavit, quod Baliabadram venientes mercatores, naves & homines eorum, contra privilegium impedirentur & molestarentur. Inter nos enim & Reginam cum fœdus sit, ut mercatores, homines & naves eorum contra privilegium impediantur aut molestentur, nullo unquam pacto concedimus. Mandamus igitur, ut literæ nostræ Cæsareæ, quàm primum tibi exhibitæ fuerint, has in persona propria cures, secundum quod convenit, videasque ex Anglia Baliabadram cum mercibus venientibus mercatoribus, & alias ob causas venientibus hominibus, in summa Angliensibus & navibus eorum, & in navibus existentibus mercibus & rebus contra fœdus & privilegium, injuria, vis aut damnum non inferatur: sed, ut convenit, defendas, ut naves, mercatores, & homines, nostri velut proprii subditi, liberi ab omni vi & injuria permaneant, & negotiis suis incumbant. Et quod illius loci Janisseri illos impedirent, significatum est: ut illi illis nocumento sint nullo modo concedimus. Juxta tenorem mandati hujus illos commonefacias, ut nihil quicquam contra

fœdus faciant, ita ut nunquam hujusmodi querela huc veniat, quia quicquid acciderit, a te expostulabimus. Negligentiam postponito, & insigni Cæsareo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement for Egypt.

SCito quod orator Reginæ Angliæ in porta mea existens libellum supplicem ad portam nostram mittens significavit, quod cum ex Ægypto Consul eorum abesset, Consul illic Gallicus existens, Vento nuncupatus, quamvis ante hæc tempora ne manus in Anglos mitteret mandatum nostrum fuerit datum, Angli sub vexillo & tutela nostra sunt inquiens, mandatum Cæsareum vili existimans, non cessavit perturbare Anglos. Quare scito quod Reginæ Angliæ privilegium nostrum est datum. Juxta illud privilegium Anglis nulla ratione Consul Gallicus Consulatum agat, neve manus immittat, mandatum nostrum postulavit ejus legatus. Quare mando, ut contra privilegium nostrum Consul Gallicus Anglis injuriam non inferat, neve Consulatum agat. Judici Ægypti literæ nostræ sunt datæ: hanc ob causam mando tibi quoque, ut juxta illud mandatum nostrum, contra privilegium nostrum Anglis Gallum Consulatum agere nunquam patiare. Sic scito, & insigni meo fidem adhibeto.

[II. i. 183.] A commaundement of the Grand Signior to the Cadie or Judge of Alexandria.

THe Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majestie of England certified us howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Consul Vento sealing up his fondego and chamber, tooke under his seale al his goods and marchandise into his power, and required our commandement that all the goods might be restored againe according to justice unto the Englishmen: wherefore we commaund you that having received this our commandement, you assemble those of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not passed five yeeres, if

you have not looked to it heretofore, now carefully looke to it, & if it be according to their Arz or certificate presented unto us, that the foresaid French Consull Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceased English marchant under his seale, that then you cause him to restore all the said goods and marchandise sealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting unto the English marchants : doe in this matter according to justice, and credite this our seale.

A commandement to the Bassa of Alexandria.

THe Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majesty of England by supplication certified us, how that notwithstanding our privilege granted them to make Consuls in al parts of our dominions to governe their nation according to their owne custome & law, to defend them against all wrongs and injuries whatsoever : yet that the French Consull affirming to thee that art Bassa, that they were under his banner, and that he should governe them, and oversee their businesse, and having got a new privilege, mentioning therein the English men to be under his banner, did by all meanes molest & trouble them, insomuch that their Consull oppressed with many injuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie didst maintaine the French Consul herein ; whereupon the Embassadour required our commandement, that they might have justice for these injuries : wherefore we command thee that having received this our commandement, you examine diligently that his privilege, and send the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the French Consull Vento hath by subtiltie got the aforesaid privilege written, that you then see him punished, and suffer not hereafter the French or Venetian Consuls to intermeddle with their businesse. Obey this our commaundement, and give credite to the seale.

[A commaundement

A commaundement to the Byes, and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all the Cadies and Byes in the way to Constantinople.

TO the Sanjakbies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Sanjacbies bordering on the sea-coast, and to the Cadies in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in the other ports and coastes. This commaundement comming to you, know that the Embassadour of England required of us our commaundement that their ships comming to Chio, & from thence to Constantinople, no man should hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the sea or on the land, or in the portes. I have commaunded, that their ships comming to any of the said places or ports with marchandise, if they themselves will, they may sell their commodities, & as much, and as litle as they will, and if it be in a place where custome was not woont to be taken, having taken the custome due by the olde Canon you suffer them not to bee injuried, either in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietnesse to Constantinople, and certifie us of those that be disobedient to our commaundement, and give credite to our seale. And having read this our commandement, give it to them againe.

A commaundement for Aleppo.

WHen my letters shal come unto you, know that the Queene of England her Embassador by supplication certified how that before this time we had given our commandement that the summe of 70 ducats, & other marchandize belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, saying he was a Venetian, should be given to the Venetians. And if they did find that he was not a Venetian, my will was that they should send all his goods and marchandize to our port into my treasurie. But because that man was an Englishman, the Embassadour required that the sayde goods might not be

diminished, but that they might be restored to one of their Englishmen. This businesse was signified unto us in the nine hundred ninety & fourth yere of Mahomet, and in the moneth of May the 10 day. This businesse [II. i. 184.] pertaineth to the Englishmen, who have in their handes our privilege, according to which privilege being in their hands let this matter be done. Against this privilege do nothing, aske nothing of them, but restore to every one his goods. And I command that when my commandement shall come unto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the Ambassadour certified, and that they have the privilege, peruse the same, looke that nothing be committed against it and our league, and let none trouble them contrarie to it, restore them their goods according to justice, and take heede diligently in this businesse : if another strange marchant be dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian, nor Englishman, let not his goods perish among you. Before this time one of our Chauses called Cerkes Mahomet chaus was sent with our commaundement to sende the money and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you shall be punished. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor Englishman in veritie, doe not loose the goods of the said dead marchant, under the name of a Venetian or Englishman, doe not to the discommoditie of my treasurie, for after it will be hard to recover it.

[The voyage

The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583. with a ship called the Jesus, wherein the adventures and distresses of some Englishmen are truely reported, and other necessary circumstances observed. Written by Thomas Sanders.

THis voyage was set foorth by the right worshipfull sir Edward Osborne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkish company, and one master Richard Staper, the ship being of the burden of one hundred tunnes, called the Jesus, she was builded at Farmne a river by Portsmouth. The owners were master Thomas Thomson, Nicholas Carnaby, and John Gilman. The master was one Aches Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthonie Jerado a Frenchman, of the province of Marseils: the purser was one William Thomson our owners sonne: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs servant unto the said master Staper. The owners were bound unto the merchants by charter partie thereupon, in one thousand markes, that the said ship by Gods permission should goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to say, first from Portsmouth to Newhaven in Normandie, from thence to S. Lucar, otherwise called Saint Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the East part of Africa, and so to returne unto London. But here ought every man to note and consider the workes of our God, that many times what man doth determine God doth disappoint. The said master having some occasion to goe to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purser, and returning againe by meanes of a perrie of winde, the boat wherein they were, was drowned, with the said master, the purser, and all the company: onely the said Pilot by experience in swimming saved himselfe:

Man doth purpose, and God doth dispose.

these were the beginnings of our sorrowes. After which the said masters mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the unwillingnesse of the masters mate, did send downe one Richard Deimond, and shipped him for master, who did chuse for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and so the said ship departed on her voiage accordingly: that is to say, about the 16 of October, in An. 1583. she made saile from Portsmouth, and the 18 day then next following she arrived at Newhaven, where our saide last master Deimond by a surfeit died. The factors then appointed the said Andrew Dier, being then masters mate, to be their master for that voiage, who did chuse to be his Mates the two quarter masters of the same ship, to wit, Peter Austine, and Shillabey, and for Purser was shipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8 day of November we made saile forthward, and by force of weather we were driven backe againe into Portesmouth, where we renued our victuals and other necessaries, and then the winde came faire. About the 29 day then next following we departed thence, and the first day of December by meanes of a contrarie winde, wee were driven to Plimmouth. The 18 day then next following, we made foorthward againe, & by force of weather we were driven to Falmouth, where we remained untill the first day of January: at which time the winde comming faire, we departed thence, and about the 20 day of the said moneth we arrived safely at S. Lucar. And about the 9 day of March next following, we made saile from thence, and about the 18 day of the same moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where we were verie well intertained by the king of that countrey, and also of the commons. The commodities of that place are sweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himselfe before his commons) requested our said factors to traffique with him, and promised them that if they would take his oiles at his owne price, they should pay no maner of custome, and

A new master chosen.

The new master died.

The Jesus arrived in Tripolis.

[II. i. 185.]

they tooke of him certaine tunnes of oile: and afterwarde perceiving that they might have farre better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceede theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, insomuch that the factors bought all their oyles of the king custome free, and so laded the same aboord.

Another ship of Bristow came to Tripolis.

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenson in a ship of Bristow, who together with our said Factors tooke a house to themselves there. Our French Factor Romane Sonnings desired to buy a commodity in the market, and wanting money, desired the saide Miles Dickenson to lend him an hundred Chikinoes untill he came to his lodging, which he did, and afterward the same Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenson in the streete, and delivered him money bound up in a napkin: saying, master Dickenson there is the money that I borowed of you, and so thanked him for the same: hee doubted nothing lesse then falshoode, which is seldome knowne among marchants, and specially being together in one house, and is the more detestable betweene Christians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The said Dickenson did not tell the money presently, untill he came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about three pounds, for that every Chikino is woorth seven shillings of English money, he came to the sayde Romane Sonnings and delivered him his handkerchiefe, and asked him howe many Chikinoes hee had delivered him? Sonnings answered, an hundred: Dickenson said no: and so they protested and swore on both parts. But in the end the sayd Romane Sonnings did sweare deepely with detestable othes and curses, and prayed God that hee might shewe his workes on him, that other might take ensample thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dogge, and never come into England againe, if he did

not deliver unto the sayde Dickenson an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blasphemers, cursers and swearers, how God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it commeth to passe, that God sheweth his miracles upon such monstrous blasphemers, to the ensample of others, as nowe hereafter you shall heare what befell to this Romane Sonnings.

There was a man in the said towne a pledge, whose name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings some pleasure there. The foresaid Patrone Norado was indebted unto a Turke of that towne, in the summe of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certain goods sent by him into Christendome in a ship of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himselfe remained in Tripolis as pledge untill his said brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arrivall into Christendome, he came among lewde companie, and lost his brothers said ship and goods at dice, and never returned unto him againe.

A conspiracie practised by the French Factor, to deceive a Turkish marchant of 450 crowns.

The said Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding now opportunitie, consulted with the said Sonnings for to swimme a seaboorde the Islands, and the ship being then out of danger, should take him in (as after was confessed) and so to goe to Tolon in the province of Marseilis with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in his lading.

The shippe being readie the first day of May, and having her sayles all aboorde, our sayde Factors did take their leave of the king, who very courteously bidde them farwell, and when they came aboorde, they commaunded the Master and the companie hastily to get out the ship: the Master answered that it was unpossible, for that the winde was contrary and overblowed. And he required us upon forfeiture of our bandes, that we should doe our indevour to get her foorth. Then went wee to warpe out the shippe, and presently the king sent a boate aboord of us, with three men in her, commaunding the saide Sonnings to come a shoare: at whose comming, the

king demaunded of him custome for the oyles: Sonnings answered him that his highnesse had promised to deliver them custome free. But notwithstanding the king weighed not his said promise, and as an infidell that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit hee was a king, hee caused the sayde Sonnings to pay the custome to the uttermost penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haste away, saying, that the Janizaries would have the oyle ashoare againe.

These Janizaries are souldiers there under the great Turke, and their power is above the Kings. And so the saide Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterside, and called for a boate to come aboorde, and he brought with him the foresaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquisitive to know what man that was, Sonnings answered, that he was his countreyman, a passenger: I pray God said the companie, that we come not into trouble by this man. Then said Sonnings angerly, what have you to do with any matters of mine? if any thing chance otherwise then well, I must answere for all.

The beginning of their troubles, and occasion of all their miserie.

Nowe the Turke unto whom this Patrone Norado was indebted, missing him (supposed him to be aboorde of our shippe) presently went unto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was aboord of the English ship, whereupon the King presently sent a boat aboord of us, with three men in her, commanding the said Sonnings to come a shoare, and not speaking any thing as touching the man, he saide that hee would come presently in his owne boate, but assoone as they were gone, he willed us to warpe foorth the ship, and saide that he would see the knaves hanged before he would goe a shoare. And when the king sawe that he came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe, he straight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next unto us, to shoote three shootes without ball. Then we came all to the said Sonnings, and asked of him what the matter was that we were shot at, he said

[II. i. 186.]

that it was the Janizaries who would have the oyle a shoare againe, and willed us to make haste away, and after that he had discharged three shots without ball, he commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indevour to sinke us, but the Turkish gunners could not once strike us, wherefore the king sent presently to the Banio: (this Banio is the prison wheras all the captives lay at night) and promised if that there were any that could either sinke us, or else cause us to come in againe, he should have a hundred crownes, and his libertie. With that came foorth a Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an old servitour in Flanders, and he said, that upon the performance of that promise, hee would undertake either to sinke us, or to cause us to come in againe, and therto he would gage his life, and at the first shotte he split our rudders head in pieces, and the second shotte he strake us under the water, and the third shotte he shotte us through our foremast with a Colvering shot, and thus he having rent both our rudder and maste, and shot us under water, we were inforced to goe in againe.

This Sebastian for all his diligence herein, had neither his liberty, nor an hundred crownes, so promised by the said king, but after his service done was committed againe to prison, whereby may appeare the regard that the Turke or infidell hath of his worde, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our merchants seeing no remedie, they together with five of our companie went a shoare, and then they ceased shooting: they shot unto us in the whole, nine and thirtie shootes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a shoare, the King commaunded presently that they with the rest of our companie that were with them, should be cheined foure & foure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ship, there came presently above an hundred Turks aboord of us, and they searched us, and stript our very clothes from our backes, and brake open our chests,

and made a spoyle of all that we had: and the Christian caitifes likewise that came a boord of us made spoyle of our goods, and used us as ill as the Turkes did. And our masters mate having a Geneva Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who shewed me of it, and I having the language, went presently to the kings treasurer, and tolde him of it, saying, that sith it was the will of God that we should fall into their handes, yet that they should grant us to use our consciences to our owne discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to use theirs, and he graunted us: then I told him that the maister gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treasurer went presently and commaunded him to deliver up the Bible againe, which he did: & within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I shewed the Treasurer of it, and presently he commaunded him to deliver it againe: saying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Christianitie againe? for he was a Renegado, which is one that first was a Christian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke, and so he delivered me the Bible the second time. And then I having it in my hand, the gunner came to me, and spake these wordes, saying, thou dogge, I wil have the booke in despight of thee, and tooke it from me, saying: If thou tell the kings treasurer of it any more, by Mahomet I will be revenged of thee. Notwithstanding I went the third time unto the kings Treasurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, saying thus unto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou shalt have an hundred bastonadoes. And foorthwith he delivered me the booke, saying, he had not the value of a pin of the spoyle of the ship, which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall heare: for there was none, neither Christian nor Turke that tooke the value of a peniworth of our goods from us, but perished both bodie and goods

within seventeene moneths following, as hereafter shall plainely appeare.

Then came the Guardian Basha, which is the keeper of the kings captives, to fetch us all a shoare, and then I remembring the miserable estate of poore distressed captives, in the time of their bondage to those infidels, went to mine owne chest, and tooke out thereof a jarre of oyle, and filled a basket full of white Ruske to carie a shoare with me, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkish boyes had taken away almost all my bread, and the keeper saide, deliver me the jarre of oyle, and when thou commest to the [II. i. 187.] Banio thou shalt have it againe, but I never had it of him any more.

But when I came to the Banio, and sawe our Marchants and all the rest of our company in chaines, and we all ready to receive the same reward, what heart in the world is there so hard, but would have pitied our cause, hearing or seeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt us: all this happened the first of May, 1584.

The Englishmen araigned.

And the second day of the same moneth, the King with all his counsell sate in judgement upon us. The first that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Masters, and the King asked them wherefore they came not a shoare when he sent for them. And Romaine Sonnings answered, that though he were king on shoare, and might commaunde there, so was hee as touching those that were under him: and therefore said, if any offence be, the fault is wholy in my selfe, and in no other. Then foorthwith the king gave judgement, that the saide Romaine Sonnings should be hanged over the Northeast bulwarke: from whence he conveyed the forenamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Master Andrew Dier, and used fewe wordes to him, and so condemned him to be hanged over the walles of the Westermost bulwarke.

Then fell our other Factor (named Richard Skegs) upon his knees before the king, and said, I beseech your highnesse either to pardon our Master, or else suffer me to die for him, for he is ignorant of this cause. And then the people of that countrey favouring the said Richard Skegs besought the king to pardon them both. So then the king spake these wordes: Beholde, for thy sake, I pardon the Master. Then presently the Turkes shouted, and cried, saying: Away with the Master from the presence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and tolde us what had happened, and we all rejoyced at the good hap of Master Skegs, that hee was saved, and our Master for his sake.

But afterward our joy was turned to double sorrow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counsell had advised him, that unlesse the Master died also, by the lawe they could not confiscate the ship nor goods, neither captive any of the men: whereupon the king sent for our Master againe, and gave him another judgement after his pardon for one cause, which was that hee should be hanged. Here all true Christians may see what trust a Christian man may put in an infidels promise, who being a King, pardoned a man nowe, as you have heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the same cause before a whole multitude: and also promised our Factors their oyles custome free, and at their going away made them pay the uttermost penie for the custome thereof.

Master Dier condemned to be hanged over a bulwarke.

And when that Romaine Sonnings saw no remedy but that he should die, he protested to turne Turke, hoping thereby to have saved his life. Then saide the Turke, If thou wilt turne Turke, speake the words that thereunto belong: and he did so. Then saide they unto him, Now thou shalt die in the faith of a Turke, and so hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the forenamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing, he then was condemned slave

A Frenchman turned Turke, in hope of his life, and afterward was hanged.

perpetuall, except there were paiment made of the foresaid summe of money.

Then the king condemned all us, who were in number sixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you have heard) and one died the first day wee came on shoare, by the visitation of Almightie God: and the other three and twentie he condemned slaves perpetually unto the great Turke, and the ship and goods were confiscated to the use of the great Turke: and then we all fell downe upon our knees, giving God thankes for this sorrowfull visitation, and giving our selves wholy to the Almightie power of God, unto whom all secrets are knowen, that he of his goodnesse would vouchsafe to looke upon us.

Here may all true Christian hearts see the wonderfull workes of God shewed upon such infidels, blasphemers, whoremasters, and renegate Christians, and so you shall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like upon the unfaithfull king and all his children, and of as many as tooke any portion of the said goods.

Every five men allowed but two pence of bread a day.

But first to shewe our miserable bondage and slaverie, and unto what small pittance and allowance wee were tied, for every five men had allowance but five aspers of bread in a day, which is but two pence English: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boords, with a very simple cape to cover us, wee were also forceably and most violently shaven, head and beard, and within three dayes after, I and sixe more of my fellowes, together with fourescore Italians and Spaniards were sent foorth in a Galeot to take a Greekish Carmosell, which came into Africa to steale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis unto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but wee were chained three and three to an oare, and wee rowed naked above the girdle, and the Boteswaine of the Galley walked abaft the maste, and his Mate afore the maste, and eche of them a bulls pissell dried in their handes, and when their divelish choller rose, they would strike the Christians for no cause: And [II. i. 188.]

they allowed us but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of sustenance, water excepted. And when we came to the place whereas wee saw the Carmosell, we were not suffered to have neither needle, bodkin, knife, or any other weapon about us, nor at any other time in the night, upon paine of one hundred bastonadoes: wee were then also cruelly manackled in such sort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foote asunder the one from the other, and every night they searched our chaines three times, to see if they were fast riveted: Wee continued fight with the Carmosell three houres, and then wee tooke it, and lost but two of our men in that fight, but there were slaine of the Greekes five, and foureteene were cruelly hurt, and they that were sound, were presently made slaves, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then wee were put to all maner of slaverie. I was put to hewe stones, and other to cary stones, and some to draw the Cart with earth, and some to make morter, and some to draw stones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of slaverie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the husbandmen of the countrey, rebelled against the king, because he would have constrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, so that the Souldiours of Tripolis marched foorth of the towne to have joyned battell against the Moores for their rebellion, and the King sent with them foure pieces of Ordinance, which were drawen by the captives twentie miles into the Countrey after them, and at the sight thereof the Moores fled, and then the Captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Christians more were sent twelve miles into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the same day.

The Turkes builded a church.

The Christians sent 3. times a weeke 30. miles to fetch wood.

Nowe the king had 18. captives, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne:

and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and wee departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and upon the way as wee rode upon the camels, I demaunded of one of our company, who did direct us the way? he sayd, that there was a Moore in our company which was our guide: and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other? and hee said, East Northeast, and West Southwest. And at midnight or neere thereabouts, as I was riding upon my camel, I fell asleepe, and the guide and all the rest rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awooke, and finding my selfe alone durst not call nor hallow for feare least the wilde Moores should heare me, because they holde this opinion, that in killing a Christian they do God good service: and musing with my selfe what were best for me to do, if I should goe foorth, and the wilde Moores should hap to meete with mee, they would kill mee: and on the other side, if I should returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or company, I should be most miserably used: therefore of two evils, rather I had to goe foorth to the loosing of my life, then to turne backe and trust to their mercie, fearing to bee used as before I had seene others: for understanding by some of my company before, howe Tripolis and the saide wood did lie one off another, by the North starre I went forth at adventure, and as God would have it, I came right to the place where they were, even about an houre before day: there altogether wee rested and gave our camels provender, and assoone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I seeing no wood there, but a sticke here and a sticke there, about the bignesse of a mans arme growing in the sand, it caused mee to marveile how so many camels should be loden in that place. The wood was Juniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it up by strength of hands rootes and all, which a man might easily do, and so gathered it together, a little at one place and so at another, and laded our camels, and came home about seven of the clocke that

night folowing: because I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

Eighteene captives run away from Tripolis.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whose name was Benedetto Venetiano, and seventeene captives more of his company, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in sight of an Island called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the shoare, & very faire weather, one of their company said, In dispetto de dio adesso venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to say: In the despite of God I shall now fetch the shoare, and presently there arose a mighty storme, with thunder and raine and the wind at North, their boate being very small, so that they were inforced to beare up roome, and to sheare right afore the winde over against the coast of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing up and downe the coast, their victuals being spent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced through the want of food to come ashoare, thinking to have stolne some sheepe: but the Moores of the countrey very craftily perceiving their intent, gathered together a threescore horsemen, and hid themselves behinde a sandie hill, and when the Christians were come all a shoare, and past up halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and some of them pursued the Christians, and so they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had before escaped: and presently the king commaunded that the foresaide Benedetto with one more of his company should lose their eares, and the rest should be most cruelly beaten, which was presently done. This king had a sonne which was a ruler in an Island called Gerbi, whereunto arrived an English shippe called the Greene Dragon, of the which was Master one M. Blonket, who having a very unhappy boy in that shippe, and understanding that whosoever would turne Turke should be well enterteined of the kings sonne, this boy did runne a shoare, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings sonne came to

The judgement of God upon blasphemers.

[II. i. 189.]

The Greene Dragon.

Tripolis to visite his father, and seeing our company, hee greatly fancied Richard Burges our Purser, and James Smith: they were both yong men, therefore he was very desirous to have them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his desire, saying: We are your fathers slaves, and as slaves wee will serve him. Then his father the king sent for them, and asked them if they would turne Turkes? And they saide: If it please your highnesse, Christians we were borne, and so we will remaine, and beseeched the king that they might not bee inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his house a sonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings sonne had inforced to turne Turke, his name was John Nelson: him the king caused to be brought to these yong men, and then said unto them: Wil not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as hee is? And they saide, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings sonne went home to Gerbi againe, being sixe score miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foresaid yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and James Smith: and after their departure from us, they sent us a letter, signifying that there was no violence shewed unto them as yet, but within three dayes after they were violently used, for that the kings sonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? Then answered Richard Burges, a Christian I am, and so I will remaine. Then the kings sonne very angerly said unto him: By Mahomet thou shalt presently be made Turke. Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turke, and they did so, and circumcised him, and would have had him speake the wordes that thereunto belonged, but he answered them stoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habite of a Turke, yet sayd he, A Christian I was borne, and so I will remaine, though you force me to doe otherwise.

The kings sonne had a captive that was sonne to one of the Queenes Majesties guard, that was forced to turne Turke.

And then he called for the other, and commaunded

him to be made Turke perforce also: but he was very strong, for it was so much as eight of the kings sonnes men could doe to holde him, so in the ende they circumcised him, and made him Turke. Now to passe over a litle, and so to shewe the maner of our deliverance out of that miserable captivitie.

The first motion for those Englishmens deliverie.

In May aforesaid, shortly after our apprehension, I wrote a letter into England unto my father dwelling in Tavistoke in Devonshire, signifying unto him the whole estate of our calamities: and I wrote also to Constantinople to the English Embassadour, both which letters were faithfully delivered. But when my father had received my letter, and understood the trueth of our mishap, and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honourable the earle of Bedford thereof, who in short space acquainted her highnesse with the whole cause thereof, and her Majestie like a most mercifull princesse tendering her Subjects, presently tooke order for our deliverance. Whereupon the right worshipful sir Edward Osborne knight directed his letters with all speed to the English Embassadour in Constantinople, to procure our delivery: and he obteined the great Turkes Commission, and sent it foorthwith to Tripolis, by one Master Edward Barton, together with a Justice of the great Turkes, and one souldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could speake besides Greeke, Turkish, Italian, Spanish and English. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well interteined. And the first night they did lie in a Captaines house in the towne: all our company that were in Tripolis came that night for joy to Master Barton and the other Commissioners to see them. Then master Barton said unto us, welcome my good countreymen, and lovingly interteined us, and at our departure from him, he gave us two shillings, and said, Serve God, for to morrow I hope you shall be as free as ever you were; We all gave him thankes and so departed.

The next day in the morning very early, the King

having intelligence of their comming, sent word to the keeper, that none of the Englishmen (meaning our company) should goe to worke. Then he sent for Master Barton and the other Commissioners, and demaunded of the saide Master Barton his message: the Justice answered, that the great Turke his Sovereigne had sent them unto him, signifying that he was informed that a certaine English shippe, called the Jesus, was by him the saide king confiscated, about twelve moneths since, and nowe my saide Sovereigne hath here sent his especiall commission by us unto you, for the deliverance of the saide shippe and goods, and also the free libertie and deliverance of the Englishmen of the same shippe, whom you have taken and kept in captivitie. And further the same Justice saide, I am authorized by my said soveraigne [II. i. 190.] the great Turke to see it done: And therefore I commaund you by vertue of this commission, presently to make restitution of the premisses or the value thereof: and so did the Justices deliver unto the King the great Turkes commission to the effect aforesaide, which commission the king with all obedience received: and after the perusing of the same, he foorthwith commanded all the English captives to be brought before him, and then willed the keeper to strike off all our yrons, which done, the king said, You Englishmen, for that you did offend the lawes of this place, by the same lawes therefore some of your company were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to bee perpetuall captives during your lives: notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my soveraigne lord the great Turke to pardon your said offences, and to give you your freedome and libertie, beholde, here I make delivery of you to this English Gentleman: so hee delivered us all that were there, being thirteene in number, to Master Barton, who required also those two yong men which the Kings sonne had taken with him. Then the king answered that it was against their lawe to deliver them, for that they were turned Turkes: and touching the ship and goods, the king said, that he had solde her,

The Englishmen released.

but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came unto his hands, and so the king arose and went to dinner, and commaunded a Jew to goe with Master Barton and the other commissioners, to shew them their lodging, which was a house provided and appointed them by the said king. And because I had the Italian & Spanish tongues, by which their most trafique in that countrey is, Master Barton made me his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his company, and delivered me money needfull for the same. Thus were wee set at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The plagues and punishments that happened to the King and his people.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and punishments, which Almighty God at his will and pleasure sendeth upon men in the sight of the worlde, and likewise of the plagues that befell his children and others aforesaide. First when wee were made bondmen, being the second day of May 1584. the king had 300. captives, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our company, of whom two were hanged, and one died the same day that wee were made bondslaves: that present moneth there died nine more of our company of the plague, and other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearsed: and on the fourth day of June next following the king lost 150. camels, which were taken from him by the wilde Moores: and on the 28. day of the saide moneth of June, one Geffrey Maltese, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, and stole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Christians withall, and caried with him twelve Christians more which were the kings captives. Afterward about the tenth day of July next following, the king road foorth upon the greatest and fairest mare that might be seene, as white as any swanne: hee had not ridden fourtie paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell downe under him starke dead, and I with sixe more were commaunded to burie her, skinne, shoes and all, which we did. And about three moneths after our deliverie,

The king lost 150. Camels, taken by the wilde Moores.

Master Barton, with all the residue of his company, departed from Tripolie to Zante, in a vessell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arrivall at Zante wee remained fifteene dayes there aboorde our vessell, before wee coulde have Platego (that is, leave to come a shoare) because the plague was in that place, from whence wee came: and about three dayes after we came a shoare, thither came another Settea of Marseils bound for Constantinople. Then did Master Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, shippe themselves as passengers in the same Settea, and went to Constantinople. But the other nine of us that remained in Zante, about three moneths after, shipt our selves in a shippe of the said Marcus Segoorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which three moneths, the souldiers of Tripolie killed the said king. And then the Kings sonne, according to the custome there, went to Constantinople, to surrender up all his fathers treasure, goods, captives, and concubines, unto the great Turke, and tooke with him our saide Purser Richard Burges, and James Smith, and also the other two Englishmen, which he the said kings sonne had inforced to become Turkes, as is aforesayd. And they the said Englishmen finding now some opportunitie, concluded with the Christian captives which were going with them unto Constantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings sonne, and all the Turkes which were aboorde of the Galley, and privily the saide Englishmen conveyed unto the saide Christian captives, weapons for that purpose. And when they came into the maine Sea, towarde Constantinople (upon the faithfull promise of the sayde Christian captives (these foure Englishmen lept suddenly into the Crossia, that is, into the middest of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their swordes drawne, did fight against all the foresaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the saide Christian captives, who falsly brake their promises, the said Master Blonkets boy was killed, and the sayde James Smith, and

Two Englishmen shipped to Constantinople with M. Barton.

The souldiers of Tripolis kil the King.

our Pursser Richard Burges, and the other Englishman, [II. i. 191.] were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their arrivall in Constantinople: and as the Lordes will was, about two dayes after, passing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Island called Cephalonia, they met with two of the duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings sonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number 150. and they saved the Christian captives, and would have killed the two Englishmen because they were circumcised, and become Turkes, had not the other Christian captives excused them, saying, that they were inforced to be Turkes, by the kings sonne, and shewed the Venetians also, how they did enterprise at sea to fight against all the Turks, and that their two fellowes were slaine in that fight. Then the Venetians saved them, and they, with all the residue of the said captives, had their libertie, which were in number 150. or thereabouts, and the saide Gallie, and all the Turkes treasure was confiscated to the use of the state of Venice. And from thence our two Englishmen traveiled homeward by land, and in this meane time we had one more of our company, which died in Zante, and afterward the other eight shipped themselves at Zante, in a shippe of the said Marcus Segorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arrived the Assension, and the George Bonaventure of London in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogostoria, whose Marchants agreed with the Marchants of our shippe, and so laded al the marchandise of our shippe into the said ships of London, who tooke us eight in as passengers, and so we came home, and within two moneths after our arrivall at London, our said Purser Richard Burges, and his fellow came home also: for the which we are bound to praise Almightie God, during our lives, and as duetie bindeth us, to pray for the preservation of our most gracious Queene, for the great care her Majestie had over us, her poore Subjects, in seeking and procuring of our

Two Gallies of Venice tooke the king of Tripolie his galley, and killed the kings sonne, and all the Turkes in it, and released all the Christians being in number 150.

deliverance aforesaide: and also for her honourable privie Counsell, and I especiall for the prosperitie and good estate of the house of the late deceased, the right honourable the Earle of Bedford, whose honour I must confesse, most diligently at the suite of my father now departed, traveiled herein: for the which I rest continually bounden to him, whose soule I doubt not, but is already in the heavens in joy, with the Almightie, unto which place he vouchsafe to bring us all, that for our sinnes suffered most vile and shameful death upon the Crosse, there to live perpetually world without ende, Amen.

The Queenes letters to the Turke 1584. for the restitution of the shippe called the Jesus, and the English captives detained in Tripolie in Barbarie, and for certaine other prisoners in Argier.

ELIZABETHA, Dei ter maximi & unici cœli terræque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, Christíque nomen falsò profitentium idololatrias, invictissima & potentissima defensatrix: augustissimo, invictissimóque principi, Zultan Murad Can, Musulmanici regni dominatori potentissimo, imperiique Orientis Monarchæ, supra omnes soli & supremo salutem, & multos cum summa rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices & fortunatos annos.

Augustissime & potentissime Imperator, biennio jam peracto, ad Cæsaream vestram Majestatem scripsimus, ut dilectus noster famulus Guilielmus Harebornus, vir ornatissimus pro legato nostro Constantinopoli, aliisque Musulmanici imperii ditionibus, sublimi vestra authoritate reciperetur: simul etiam Angli subditi nostri commercium & mercaturam, in omnibus illis provinciis exerceant, non minùs liberè, quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti,

Germani, cæteríque vestri confœderati, qui varias Orientis partes peragrant, operam navantes, ut mutuis commerciis conjungatur Oriens cum Occidente.

Quæ privilegia, cum nostris subditis Anglis invictissima vestra Majestas literis & diplomate suo liberalissimè indulserit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noster capere potest gratias, eo nomine ageremus: sperantes fore, ut hæc instituta commerciorum ratio maximas utilitates, & commoda utrinque, tam in imperii vestri ditiones, quàm regni nostri provincias secum adferat.

Id ut planè fiat, cùm nuper subditi nostri nonnulli Tripoli in Barbaria & Argellæ ab ejus loci incolis voluntatem vestram fortè nescientibus malè habiti fuerint, & immaniter divexati, Cæsaream vestram Majestatem benevolè rogamus, ut per Legatum nostrum eorum causam cognoscas, & postremò earum provinciarum proregibus ac præfectis imperes, ut nostri liberè in illis locis, sine vi aut injuria deinceps versari, & negotia gerere possint.

Et nos omni opera vicissim studebimus ea omnia præstare, quæ Imperatoriæ vestræ Majestati ullo pacto grata fore intelligemus: quam Deus unicus mundi conditor optimus maximus diutissimè incolumem & florentem servet. Datæ in palatio nostro Londini,
[II. i. 192.] quinto die Mensis Septembris: anno Jesu Christi Servatoris nostri, 1584. Regni verò nostri vicessimo sexto.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the grace of the most high God, and onely maker of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, and of the Christian faith, against all the Idolaters and false professors of the Name of Christ dwelling among the Christians, most invincible and puissant defender: to the most valiant and invincible Prince, Zultan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Musulman, and of the East

Empire the onely and highest Monarch above all, health, and many happy and fortunate yeres, with great aboundance of the best things.

Most noble and puissant Emperour, about two yeeres nowe passed, wee wrote unto your Imperiall Majestie, that our welbeloved servant, William Hareborne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be received under your high authoritie, for our Ambassadour in Constantinople, and other places, under the obedience of your Empire of Musulman: And also that the Englishmen, being our Subjects, might exercise entercourse and marchandize in all those Provinces, no lesse freely then the French, Polonians, Venetians, Germanes, and other your confederats, which traveile through divers of the East parts: endevouring that by mutuall trafique, the East may be joyned and knit to the West.

Which privileges, when as your most puissant Majestie, by your letters and under your dispensation most liberally and favourably granted to our Subjects of England, wee could no lesse doe, but in that respect give you as great thankes, as our heart could conceive, trusting that it wil come to passe, that this order of trafique, so well ordeined, will bring with it selfe most great profits and commodities to both sides, as well to the parties subject to your Empire, as to the Provinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall maner, whereas some of our Subjects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of those places (being perhaps ignorant of your pleasure) evill intreated and grievously vexed, wee doe friendly and lovingly desire your Imperiall Majestie, that you will understand their causes by our Ambassadour, and afterward give commaundement to the Lieutenants and Presidents of those Provinces, that our people may henceforth freely, without any violence, or injurie, traveile, and do their businesse in those places.

And we againe with all endevour, shall studie to performe all those things, which we shall in any wise

understand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Majestie, which God, the onely maker of the world, most best and most great, long keepe in health, and flourishing. Given in our pallaice at London, the fift day of the moneth of September, in the yeere of Jesus Christ our Saviour, 1584. And of our raigne, the 26.

The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis in Barbarie, commanding the restitution of an English ship, called the Jesus, with the men, and goods, sent from Constantinople, by Mahomet Beg, a Justice of the Great Turkes, and an English Gentleman, called Master Edward Barton. Anno 1584.

Onourable, and worthy Bassa Romadan Beglerbeg, most wise and prudent Judge of the West Tripolis, wee wish the ende of all thy enterprises happie, and prosperous. By these our highnesse letters, wee certifie thee, that the right honourable, William Hareborne, Ambassadour in our most famous Porch, for the most excellent Queenes Majestie of England, in person, and by letters hath certified our highnesse, that a certaine shippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thousand duckets, arriving in the port of Tripolis, and discharged of her lading and marchandize, paide our custome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their shippe with oyle, which by constraint they were inforced to buy of you, & having answered in like maner the custome for the same, determined to depart: a Frenchman assistant to the Marchant, unknowen to the Englishmen, caried away with him another Frenchman indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred duckets, and by force caused the Englishmen, and shippe to depart: who neither suspecting fraude, nor deceite, hoised sailes. In the meane time, this man, whose debter the Frenchman had

stollen away, went to the Bassa with the supplication, by whose meanes, and force of the Castle, the Englishmen were constrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, author of the evill, with the Master of the ship an Englishman, innocent of the crime were hanged, [II. i. 193.] and sixe and twentie Englishmen cast into prison, of whom through famine, thirst, and stinke of the prison, eleven died, and the rest like to die. Further, it was signified to our Majestie also, that the marchandise and other goods, with the shippe, were worth 7600. duckets: which things if they be so, this is our commandement, which was granted and given by our Majestie, that the English shippe, and all the marchandize, and whatsoever else taken away bee wholy restored, and that the Englishmen be let goe free, and suffered to returne into their Countrey. Wherefore when this our commaundement shall come unto thee, wee straightly commaund, that the foresaid businesse be diligently looked unto, and discharged. And if it be so, that a Frenchman, and no Englishman hath done this craft, and wickednesse unknowen to the Englishmen, and as authour of the wickednesse is punished, and that the Englishmen committed nothing against the peace and league, or their articles: also if they payd custome according to order, it is against lawe, custome of Countreys, and their privilege, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their shippe, marchandise, and all their goods taken, should be withholden. Wee will therefore, that the English shippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be restored to the Englishmen: also that the men bee let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: do not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and how this businesse is dispatched, certifie us at our most famous porche.

Dated in the Citie of Constantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October; and in the yeere of Jesus 1584.

A letter of Master William Hareborne, the English Ambassadour, Ligier in Constantinople, to the Bassa Romadan, the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbarie, for the restoring of an English shippe called the Jesus, with the goods, and men, detained as slaves, Anno 1585.

MOlto magnifico Signor,

Noi ha stato significato per diverse lettere di quanto ha passato circa di una nave nostra chiamata Jesus, sopra il quale in agiuto di Ricciardo Skegs, uno de gli nostri mercanti di essa gia morto, veniva un certo Francese per sopra cargo, chiamato Romano Sonings, il quale per non esser ben portato secondo che doveva, volendo importar seco un altro Francese debitore a certi vostri sensa pagarcene, per giusticia era appiccato col patron Inglese Andre Dier, che come simplice credendo al detto Francese, senza avedercene de la sua ria malitia, non retornava, quando da vostra magnifica Signoria gli era mandato. La morte del detto tristo Francese approviamo como cosa benfatta. Ma al contrario, dove lei ha confiscato la detta nave e mercantia en essa, & fatto sciavi li marinari, como cosa molto contraria a li privilegii dal Gran Signor quattro anni passati concessi, & da noi confirmati di parte de la Serenissima Magesta d'Ingilterra nostra patrona, e molto contraria a la liga del detto Gran Signor, il quale essendo dal sopra detto apieno informato, noi ha conceduto il suo regale mandamento di restitutione, la qual mandiamo a vostra magnifica Signoria col presente portator Edoardo Barton, nostro Secretario, & Mahumed Beg, droguemano di sua porta excelsa, con altre lettere del excellentissimo Vizir, & invictissimo capitan di mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del Gran Signor, quanto di sua Serenissima Magesta di V. S. M. che gli huomini, oglii, nave col fornimento,

Edoardo Barton & Mahumed Beg.

danari, & tutti altri beni qualconque, da lei & per vestro ordine da gli nostri tolti siano resi à questo mio Secretario liberamente senza empacho alcuno, como il Gran Signor da sua gratia noi ha conceduto, specialmente per esser detti oglii comprati per ordine di sua Serenissima Magestà, per provisione della Corte sua. Il qual non facendo, protestiamo per questa nostra al incontra di esso tutti futuri danni che puono succedere per questa cagione, como authore di quelli, contrario à la Santa liga giurata de li duoi Rei, patroni nostri, como per li privilegii, che lei mostrerà il nostro, consta: per observatione de gli quali noi stiamo di fermo en questa excelsa Porta. Et cosi responderete nel altro mondo al solo Iddio, & quà al Gran Signor questo massimo peccato commesso da lei al incontra di tanti poveracchi, che per questa crudeltà sono in parte morti, in parte retenuti da esso en duro cattiverio. Al contrario, piacendo lei evitar questo incommodo & restarcene en gratia del Signor Iddio, & li nostri patroni, amichevolmente, (como convien à par vostro di mostrarsi prudente governatore, & fidel servitor al patrono) adimpirete questa nostra giustissima domanda, per poter resultarvi à grand honore & commodo per la tratta di marchantia, che faronno a ladvenire li nostri in quella vostra provincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto quelli, como tutti altri che nel mar riscontrarete, siano, secondo che manda il Grand Signor, de vostra Signoria magnifica amichevolmente recolti & recevuti: Et noi non mancharemo al debito di ottimo amico en qualconche occurrenza vostra, piacendo lei amicitia nostra, como desideramo. Il Signor Iddio lei [II. i. 194.] conceda (adimpiendo questa nostra giusta rechiesta, per cavar noi di piu futura fatica in questo negocio, & lei di disgratia) ogni vera felicitá, & supremo honore. Data in palazzo nostro che fu da Rapamat appresso Pera di 15. di Genero 1585.

Il Ambassiatore de la Majesta Serenissima d'Ingilterra, amico de vostra Signoria magnifica, piacendo lei.

The same in English.

Right honourable Lord, it hath bene signified unto us by divers letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine shippe of ours, called the Jesus, into which, for the helpe of Richard Skegs, one of our Marchants in the same, nowe deceased, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman called Romaine Sonnings, which for his ill behaviour, according to his deserts, seeking to cary away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditours, was hanged by sentence of justice, together with Andrew Dier, the Master of the said ship, who simply and without fraude, giving credite to the said Frenchman, without any knowledge of his evil fact, did not returne when hee was commaunded, by your honourable Lordship. The death of the said lewde Frenchman we approove as a thing well done, but contrarywise, whereas your Lordship hath confiscated the said ship with the goods therein, and hath made slaves of the Mariners, as a thing altogether contrary to the privileges of the Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres since, and confirmed by us on the behalfe of the most excellent the Queenes Majestie of England our Mystresse, and altogether contrary to the league of the saide Grand Signior, who being fully informed of the aforesaid cause, hath granted unto us his royall commandement of restitution, which we send unto your honourable Lordship, by the present bearer Edward Barton our Secretarie, and Mahomet Beg, one of the Justices of his stately Court, with other letters of the most excellent Admirall, and most valiant Captaine of the Sea, requiring your honourable Lordship, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior, as of the Queenes most excellent Majestie my Mystresse, that the men, oyles, shippe, furniture, money, and all other goods whatsoever, by your Lordship, and your order taken from our men, be restored unto this my Secretary freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodnesse hath graunted

unto us, especially in regard that the same oyles were bought by the commaundement of our Queenes most excellent Majestie, for the provision of her Court. Which if you performe not, wee protest by these our leters against you, that you are the cause of all the inconveniences which may ensue upon this occasion, as the authour thereof, contrary to the holy league sworne by both our Princes, as by the privileges, which this our servant will shewe you, may appeare. For the seeing of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this stately Court. And by this meanes you shall answere in another world unto God alone, and in this world unto the Grand Signior, for this hainous sinne committed by you against so many poore soules, which by this your cruelty are in part dead, and in part detained by you in most miserable captivitie. Contrarywise, if it shall please you to avoyd this mischiefe, and to remaine in the favour of Almighty God, and of our Princes, you shall friendly fulfill this our just demaund (as it behoveth you to shew your selfe a prudent Governour, and faithfull servant unto your Lord) and the same may turne to your great honour, and profite, by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come, may use in that government of yours: which generally, as well those poore men, as all others, which you shall meete at the sea, ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior, friendly entertained and received of your honourable Lordship, and we will not faile in the dueties of a speciall friend, whensoever you shal have occasion to use us, as we desire. Almighty God grant unto your Lordship (in the fulfilling of this our just request, whereby wee may be delivered from further trouble in this matter, and your selfe from further displeasure) all true felicitie, and increase of honour.

Given in our Pallace from Rapamat in Pera, the 15. of Januarie 1585.

[The voyage

The voyage of Master Henry Austell by Venice and thence to Ragusa over land, and so to Constantinople: and from thence by Moldavia, Polonia, Silesia and Germanie to Hamburg, &c.

THE 9. of June we tooke shipping at Harewich and the next day landed at the Ramekins in the Isle of Walcheren with very stormy weather, and that night went to Middleburch in the same Island.

The twelft we tooke shipping for Holland, and the 13. we landed at Schiedam: and the same day went to Delft by boat, and so that night to the Hage.

The 17. we tooke shipping at Amsterdam, and the 18. we landed at Enckhuysen.

The 19. we tooke shipping and by the Zuydersee we [II. i. 195.] passed that day the Ulie, and so into the maine sea; And the next day we entred into the river of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21. we came to anker in the same river before a towne of the bishop of Breme called Staden, where they pay a certaine toll, and specially for wine, and so that *Hamburg.* night wee landed at Hamburg, where we stayde three dayes.

The 24. wee departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Parish Marchant, and that day wee baited at Wyntson, and so over the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and travailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Master Sanders upon the heathes, and passed by a towne of the duke of Lunenborg called Geffherne, and from thence through many waters, wee *Brunswig.* lay that night within an English mile of Brunswig.

Halberstat. The 27. we lay at Halberstat, which is a great towne subject to the bishop of that towne.

The 28. we baited at Erinsleiben: and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey: and the same night we lay at a towne called Eisleben, where Martine Luther was borne. *Eisleben.*

The 29. we passed by Mansfield, where there are many Copper mines: and so that night went to Neuburg upon the river of Sala; and at that time there was a great faire. *Copper Mines.*

The 30. we baited at a proper towne called Jena upon the same river, and the same night wee lay at Cone upon that river. *Jena.*

The first of July we baited at Salfeld: and the same day we entred first into the great woods of firre trees, and that night to Grevandal; The second to dinner to Neustat. *Great wood of firre trees.*

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee passed the river of Mayne that runneth towards Arnfurt, and that night to Forchaim. *Bamberg.*

The 4. we came to Nurenberg, and there stayed two dayes. The 6. to bed to Blayfield. *Nurenberg.*

The 7. we passed without Weissenburg to dinner at Monhaim, and that night we passed the river of Danubius at Tonewertd, and so to bed to Nurendof.

The 8. we came to Augspurg, otherwise called Augusta, upon the river of Lech. *Augspurg.*

The 9. we lay at Landsberg upon the said river, in the duke of Bavars countrey.

The 10. to dinner at Svanego, and that night to Hamber against the mountaines, where the small toyes be made.

The 11. to dinner to Parcberk, & that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Austria his countrey.

The 12. to dinner at Inspruck, & that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is the place where Charles the fift and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of brasse with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13. we passed by Stizen, and dined at Prisena, and so that night to Clusen.

The 14. to dinner at Bolsan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we passed the dangerous place, where so many murthers have bene committed.

The borders of Italy. The 15. to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy, that night to Lenigo.

The 16. to dinner at Grigno, where the last toll of the Emperour is: and so we came by Chursa, which is a streight passage. And the keeper thereof is drawne up by a cord into his holde. And that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.

The 17. to dinner at castle Franco: by the way we stayed at Tarviso, and there tooke coche, and that night came to Mestre to bed.

Venice. The 18. in the morning we came to Venice, and there we stayed 15. dayes. In which time the duke of Venice called Nicholas de Ponte died, and we saw his burial. The Senators were continually shut up together, as the maner is, to chuse a newe duke, which was not yet chosen when we departed from thence.

The 2. of August at night wee did embarke our selves upon the Frigate of Cattaro, an haven neere Ragusa. The 3. we came to a towne in Istria called Citta nova.

The 4. we came to Parenzo, and so that night to Forcera of the bishop.

The 5. we passed by Rovigno: and a litle beyond we met with 3. Galies of the Venetians: we passed in the sight of Pola; and the same day passed the gulfe that parteth Istria from Dalmatia.

The 6. of August we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a strong towne of the Venetians: and so that night to Sebenico, which standeth in a marveilous goodly haven, with a strong castle at the entrie thereof.

The 7. we came to Lezina, and went not on shoore, but traveiled all night.

The 8. we passed by a very wel seated towne called Curzola, which standeth in an island of that name.

The 9. in the morning betimes we landed at Ragusa, and there stayed three daies, where we found many friendly gentlemen. *Ragusa.*

The 11. being provided of a Janizarie we departed from Ragusa in the company of halfe a dosen Marchants of that towne: and within 6. miles we entred into the countrey of Servia. So traveiling in barren and craggie mountaines for the space of foure dayes, wee came by a small Towne of the Turkes called Chiernisa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants. *Servia.* [II. i. 196.] *Chiernisa.*

The 16. we dined in a Cavarsara in a Towne called Focea, being then greatly infected with the plague. *Or, * Fochia.*

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Taslizea.

The 20. we came to Novibazar. *Novibazar.*

The 21. we parted from thence, travailing stil in a countrey very ill inhabited, & lying in ye fields.

The 22. we passed within sight of Nicea. *Or, Nissa.*

The 23. we passed in sight of another towne called Circui: and about those places wee began to leave the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as evill inhabited as the other, or worse.

The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee stayed three dayes, being our Janizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants house of Ragusa, that came in company with us from Novibazar; and also wee had in company, ever since wee came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept company with us till we came very neere Constantinople. *Sophia.*

The first of September we came to Philippopoli, which seemeth to be an ancient towne, and standeth upon the river of Stanuch. *Philippopoli.*

The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which standeth in a very large and champion countrey, and there the great Turks mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much. *Andrinopolis.*

The 5. we lay in one of the great Cavarzaras, that

were built by Mahomet Bassha with so many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

Siliveri. The 8. we came to Siliveri, which by report was the last towne that remained Christian.

Constantinople. The 9. of September wee arrived at the great and most stately Citie of Constantinople, which for the situation and proude seate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious havens, and for the great and sumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moschea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then living, whose name was Amurat, kept his Court and residence, in a marveilous goodly place, with divers gardens and houses of pleasure, which is at the least two English miles in compasse, and the three parts thereof joyne upon the sea: and on the Northeast part of the Citie on the other side of the water over against the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the most part of the Christians do lye. And there also wee did lye. And on the North part of the saide Towne is the Arsenal, where the Galies are built and doe remaine: And on the Southside is all the Ordinance, artilerie, and houses of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Ragusa to Constantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the river of Danubius.

The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram, that is, one of their chiefest feastes.

Pompeys piller. The 15. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there upon a rocke we sawe a piller of white Marble that was set up by Pompeius: and from thence we passed to the other side of the water, upon the shore of Asia and there we dined.

The 25. we departed from Constantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchisea, that is to say, fourtie Churches, which in the

olde time was a very great City, now full of scattered buildings.

The 4. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes journey distant from Varna upon the Blacke Sea. *Prouaz.* *Varna.*

The 9. we came to Saxi upon the river of Danubius.

The 10. we passed the said river which in that place is about a mile over, and then we entred into the countrey of *Bogdania: they are Christians but subjects to the Turke. *Or, Moldavia.*

The 12. we came to Palsin upon the river Prut. *Palsin upon the river of Prut.*

The 14. wee came to Yas the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayvoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his residence, of whom wee received great courtesie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he caused us to be safe conducted through his said Countrey, and conveyed without coste. *Yas.*

The 17. we came to Stepanitze.

The 19. we came to Zotschen, which is the last towne of Bogdania upon the river of Neister, that parteth the said countrey from Podolia. *Sotschen.*

The 20. we passed the river of Nyester and came to Camyenetz in the country of Podolia, subject to the king of Poland: this is one of the strongest Townes by nature and situation that can be seene. [II. i. 197.] *Nyester a river.* *Camyenetz.*

The 21. we came to Skala. *Skala.*

The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow.

The 24. to Leopolis which is in Russia alba, and so is the most part of the countrey betwixt Camyenetz and it. And it is a towne very well built, well governed, full of trafique and plentifull: and there we stayed five dayes. *Leopolis, or Leunpurg.*

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna. *Grodecz.* *Vilna.*

The 31. we dined at Mostiska, and that night at Rodmena.

The first of November in the morning before day wee passed without the Towne of Jaroslaw, where they say is one of the greatest faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horses, and that night to Rosdnoska. *Jaroslaw.*

Lanczut. The second to dinner at Lanczut, at night to Retsbou.

The thirde to Sendxizow, at night to Tarnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, and that night to Brytska.

The fift to Kuhena.

Cracovia. The 6. to Cracovia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his residence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania. Cracovia standeth on the river of Vistula.

Leade Mines. The 9. wee departed from Cracovia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkusch, where the leade Mines are.

Bendzin. The 10. wee passed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are also leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin, which is the last towne of Poland towards Silesia; and there is a toll.

Salt digged out of mountaines in Poland. Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Russia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and divers other Countreys adjoyning unto them, doe consume no other salt but such as is digged in Sorstyn mountaine neere to Cracovia which is as hard as any stone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other salt.

Bitom. That night we lay at Bitom, which is the first Towne of Silesia.

Oppelen. The 12. we passed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen upon the river of Odera.

Schurgasse. *Brigk.* The 13. we passed by Schurgasse, and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigk: for wee coulde not bee suffered to come in by reason of the plague which was in those partes in divers Townes.

Breslaw. The 14. we passed by Olaw, and that night wee came to the Citie of Breslaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well seated upon the river of Odera.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.

The 17. wee passed by Lignizt and by Hayn, and that night to Buntzel.

The 18. wee passed by Naumburg through Gorlitz

upon the river of Neiss, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we passed by Baudzen and Cannitz, and that night to Rensperg.

The 20. we passed by Hayn, by Strelen, where we should have passed the river of Elbe, but the boate was not there, so that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we passed the said river, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumitch ; and at night to Bretsch.

The 22. wee passed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very strong towne, with a good Universitie : and that day we passed by Coswig.

The 23. wee passed through Zerbst in the morning, and that night to Magdeburg, a very strong Towne, and well governed as wee did heare. The most part of the Countrey, after wee were come one dayes journey on this side Breslawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxon. *Magdeburg.*

The 24. wee passed by a castle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerstat, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. wee lay at Soltwedel.

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited at Lunenborg, that night we lay at Winson. *Lunenburg.*

The 28. we came to Hamborg, and there stayed one weeke. *Hamborg.*

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and passed the Elbe by boate being much frosen, and from the river went on foote to Boxtchoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay ; and from thence passed over land to Emden.

Thence having passed through Friseland and Holland, the 25. being Christmas day in the morning we came to Delft : where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leicester with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and souldiers. [II. i. 198.]

The 28. at night to Roterodam.

The 29. to the Briel, and there stayed eight dayes for passage.

The fifth of January we tooke shipping.

The 7. we landed at Gravesend, and so that night at London with the helpe of almightie God.

The Turkes passeport or safeconduct for Captaine Austell, and Jacomo Manuchio.

Now thou which art Voyvoda of Bogdania, & Valachia, & other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly passe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embassador of England having two English gentlemen desirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Austel, and the other Jacomo de Manuchio, requested our highnesse letters of Safeconduct to passe through our dominions with one servant to attende on them. Wherefore wee straightly charge you and all other our servants by whom they shall passe, that having received this our commandement, you have diligent care and regard that they may have provided for them in this their journey (for their money) all such necessary provision as shalbe necessary for themselves and their horses, in such sort as they may have no cause hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come unto any place, where they shal stand in feare either of their persons or goods, that then you carefully cause them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all suspected places, with sufficient company ; But have great regard that they convey not out of our countrey any of our serviceable horses. Obey our commandement, and give credite to this our Seale.

A Passeport of the Earle of Leicester for Thomas Forster gentleman travailing to Constantinople.

ROBertus Comes Leicestriæ, baro de Denbigh, ordinum Garterii & Sancti Michaelis eques auratus, Serenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ a Secretioribus consiliis, & magister equorum, dux & capitaneus generalis exercitus ejusdem Regiæ majestatis in Belgio, & gubernator generalis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, & provinciarum unitarum & associatarum, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Cùm lator præsentium Thomas Forster nobilis Anglus necessariis de causis hinc Constantinopolim profecturus sit, & inde ad nos quanta potest celeritate reversurus: petimus ab omnibus & singulis Regibus, principibus, nobilibus, magistratibus, & aliis, mandent & permittant dicto Thomæ cum duobus famulis liberum transitum per eorum ditiones & territoria sine detentione aut impedimento injusto, & provideri sibi de necessariis justum precium reddenti, ac aliter convenienter & humaniter tractari, ut occasiones ejus eundi & redeundi requirent: Sicut nos Majestates, Serenitates, Celsitudines, & dominationes vestræ paratos invenietis, ut vestratibus in similibus casibus gratum similiter faciamus.

Datum in castris nostris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. stylo veteri.

A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumitans, Turkes and Moores unto Mecca in Arabia.

ALexandria the most ancient citie in Africa situated by the seaside containeth seven miles in circuite, and is environed with two walles one neere to the other with high towers, but the walles within be farre higher then those without, with a great ditch round about the same: yet is not this Citie very

strong by reason of the great antiquitie, being almost halfe destroyed and ruinated. The greatnesse of this Citie is such, that if it were of double habitation, as it is compassed with a double wall, it might be truely said, that there were two Alexandrias one builded upon another, because under the foundations of the saide City are great habitations, and incredible huge pillers. True it is, that this part underneath remaineth
[II. i. 199.] at this day inhabitable, because of the corrupt aire, as also for that by time, which consumeth all things, it is greatly ruinated. It might well be sayd, that the founder hereof, as he was worthy in all his enterprises, so likewise in building hereof he did a worke worthy of himselfe, naming it after his owne name. This Citie hath one defect, for it is subject to an evill ayre, which onely proceedeth of that hollownesse underneath, out of the which issueth infinite moisture: and that this is true the ayre without doth evidently testifie, which is more subtile and holesome then that beneath. The waters hereof be salt, by reason that the soile of it selfe is likewise so. And therefore the inhabitants, at such time as the river Nilus floweth, are accustomed to open a great ditch, the head wherof extendeth into the said river, and from thence they conveigh the same within halfe a mile of Alexandria, and so consequently by meanes of conduct-pipes the water commeth unto the cesternes of Alexandria, which being full serve the citie from one inundation to another. Within the citie is a Pyramide mentioned of in Histories, but not of great importance. Without the citie is La colonna di Pompeio, or the pillar of Pompey, being of such height and thicknesse, that it is supposed there is not the like in the whole world besides. Within the citie there is nothing of importance save a litle castle which is guarded with 60 Janizaries. Alexandria hath three portes, one towardes Rossetto, another to the land ward, & the third to the sea ward, which is called Babelbar, without which appeareth a broad Iland called Ghesira in the Moores tongue, which is not wholy an

Iland, because a litle point or corner thereof toucheth the firme lande, and therefore may be called Peninsula, that is to say, almost an Iland. Hereupon are builded many houses of the Jewes, in respect of the aire. This Peninsula is situate betweene two very good ports, one of them being much more safe then the other, called The old port, into the which only the vessels of Barbarie, and the sixe Gallies of the Grand Signior deputeth for the guard of Alexandria doe enter. And this port hath upon the right hand at the mouth or enterance thereof a castle of small importance, and guarded but with fifteene men or thereabouts. On the other side of this Iland is the other called The new port, which name is not unfitly given unto it, for that in all mens judgement in times past there hath not beene water there, because in the midst of this port, where the water is very deepe, there are discovered and found great sepulchres and other buildings, out of the which are dayly digged with engines Jaspar and Porphyrie stones of great value, of the which great store are sent to Constantinople for the ornament of the Mesquitas or Turkish Temples, and of other buildings of the Grand Signior. Into this port enter all such vessels as traffique to this place. This port hath on ech side a castle, whereof that upon the Peninsula is called Faraone, upon the toppe whereof every night there is a light set in a great lanterne for direction of the ships, and for the guard thereof are appointed 200 Janizaries: the other on the other side is but a litle castle kept by 18 men. It is certaine, that this haven of Alexandria is one of the chiefest havens in the world: for hither come to traffique people of every Nation, and all sorts of vessels which goe round about the citie. It is more inhabited by strangers, marchants, and Christians, then by men of the countrey which are but a few in number. Within the citie are five Fontechi, that is to say, one of the Frenchmen, where the Consul is resident, & this is the fairest and most commodious of all the rest. Of the other foure, two belong to the Venetians, one to the

Fontecho signifieth an house of trafique, as the Stilyard.

Raguseans, and the fourth to the Genoueses. And all strangers which come to traffique there, except the Venetians, are under the French Consull. It is also to be understood, that all the Christians dwell within their Fontechi, and every evening at the going downe of the sunne, they which are appointed for that office goe about and shut all the gates of the saide Fontechi outward, and the Christians shut the same within: and so likewise they doe on the Friday (which is the Moores and the Turkes Sabboth) till their devotions be expired. And by this meanes all parties are secure and voide of feare: for in so doing the Christians may sleepe quietly and not feare robbing, and the Moores neede not doubt whiles they sleepe or pray, that the Christians should make any tumult, as in times past hath happened.

Of the Coast of Alexandria.

ON the side towardes Barbarie along the sea-coast for a great space there is founde neither hold, nor any thing worthy of mention: but on the other side towards Syria 13 miles from Alexandria standeth a litle castle *Bichier.* called Bichier kept by fiftie Turkes, which castle is very olde and weake, and hath a port which in times past was good, but at this present is utterly decayed and full of sand, so that the vessels which come thither dare not come neere the shoare, but ride far off into the sea. *Rosetto.* Fortie miles further is Rossetto, which is a litle towne without walles, and is situate upon the banke of Nilus three miles from the sea, at which place many times they build ships and other vessels, for governement whereof [II. i. 200.] is appointed a Sanjacbey, without any other guard: it is a place of traffique, and the inhabitants are very rich, but naughtie varlets and traytours. Further downe along the sea-side and the river banke is another litle castle like unto the abovesayde, and because the Moores beleeve, that Mecca will in short time be conquered by the Christians, they holde opinion, that the same being lost shall be renued in this place of Rossetto, namely,

that all their prayers, vowes, and pilgrimages shall be transported to Rossetto, as the religious order of Saint John of the Rhodes is translated thence to Malta. Further forwarde thirtie miles standes another castle of small importance called Brulles, kept continually by fourtie Turkes, which hath a good and secure port, in forme like to a very great lake or ponde, wherein is taken great quantitie of fish, which they salt, and the marchants of Candie and Cyprus come thither to lade the same, and it is greatly esteemed, especially of the Candiots, who having great abundance of wine adventure abroad to seeke meate fitte for the taste of the sayd wine. Distant from Brulles five and thirtie miles there is another castle like unto the abovesayd kept by an Aga with fourtie men or thereabout. More within the lande by the rivers side is Damiata an auncient citie environed with walles contayning five miles in circuit, and but of small strength. For the governement of this place is a Sanjaco with all his housholde and no other companie. This citie is very large, delightfull, and pleasant, abounding with gardens and faire fountaines. Other fortie miles further is Latma, a castle of very small importance, and kept as other with fortie Turkes under an Aga. In this place is no port, but a roade very daungerous, and without other habitation. Passing this place we enter Judea. But because our intent is to reason simply of the voyage to Mecca, we will proceede no further this way, but returning to our first way, let it suffice to say, that from Alexandria to Cairo are two hundred miles, in which way I finde nothing woorthie of memorie.

Of the mightie Citie of Cairo.

CAiro containeth in circuit eighteene miles, being so inhabited and replenished with people, that almost it cannot receive more; and therefore they have begunne to builde newe houses without the citie and about the walles. In Cairo are people of all Nations, as Christians, Armenians, Abexins, Turkes, Moores, Jewes, Indians,

Medians, Persians, Arabians, and other sortes of people, which resort thither by reason of the great traffique. This citie is governed by a Basha, which ministreth justice, together with the Cadie throughout the whole kingdome. Also there are two and twentie Sanjackes, whose office is onely to oversee and guarde the kingdome for every good respect. There are also seven thousand Turkes in pay, to wit, three thousand Janizaries, and foure thousand horsemen: The rest of the people in Cairo are for the most part marchants which goe and come, and the remnant are Moores and other base people. About two miles from Cairo there is another little Cairo called The olde Cairo, which containeth in circuit litle more then tenne miles, and the better halfe is not inhabited, but destroyed, whereof I neede not make any other mention. The new Cairo answereth every yeere in tribute to the grand Signior, 600000 ducates of golde, neat and free of all charges growing on the same, which money is sent to Constantinople, about the fine of September, by the way of Aleppo, alwayes by lande, under the custodie of three hundred horsemen and two hundred Janizaries footmen. The citie of Cairo is adorned with many faire Mesquitas rich, great, and of goodly and gorgeous building, among which are five principall. The first is called Morastano, that is to say, The hospitall, which hath of rent five hundred ducats of golde every day left unto it by a king of Damasco from auncient times; which king having conquered Cairo, for the space of five dayes continually put the people thereof to the sword, and in the end repenting him of so great manslaughter, caused this cruelty to cease, and to obtaine remission for his sinne committed, caused this hospitall to be built, enriching it as is abovesaid. The second famous monument of Cairo is called Neffisa, of one Neffisa buried there, who was a Dame of honour, and mooved by lust, yeelded her body voluntarily without rewarde, to any that required the same, and sayde she bestowed this almes for the love of her Prophet Maho-

met, and therefore at this day they adore her, reverence her, and finally have canonized her for a Saint, affirming that shee did many miracles. The third is called Zavia della Innachari, who was one of the foure Doctors in the law. The fourth is called Imamsciafii, where is buried Sciafii the second Doctor of this law. Of the other two Doctors one is buried in Damasco, the other in Aleppo. The fift & last famous monument is Giamalazar, that is, the house of Lazarus: and this is the generall University of the whole kingdome of Egypt. In this place Anno 1566 in the moneth of January by misfortune of fire were burned nine thousand bookes of great value, as well for that they were written by hand, as also wrought so richly with golde, that they were worth 300 and 400 ducats a piece, one with another. And because it could never be knowen yet how this fire beganne, they have and doe holde the same for a most sinister augurie, and an evident and manifest signe of their utter ruine. The houses of Cairo without are very faire, & within the greater number richly adorned with hangings wrought with golde. Every person which resorteth to this place for traffiques sake, is bound to pay halfe a duckat, except the gentlemen Venetians, Siotes, and Rhaguseans, because they are tributarie to the Grand Signior. Cairo is distant from the river Nilus a mile and more, being situate on a plaine, save that on the one side it hath a faire little hill, on the toppe whereof stands a faire castle, but not strong, for that it may be battered on every side, but very rich & large, compassed about with faire gardens into the which they conveigh water for their necessitie out of Nilus, with certaine wheeles & other like engines. This magnificent citie is adorned with very fruitfull gardens both pleasant and commodious, with great plenty of pondes to water the same. Notwithstanding the great pleasures of Cairo are in the moneth of August, when by meanes of the great raine in Ethiopia the river Nilus overfloweth and watereth all the countrey, and then they open the mouth of a

1566. [II. i. 201.]

The description of Cairo.

great ditch, which extendeth into the river, and passeth through the midst of the citie, and entring there are innumerable barkes rowing too and fro laden with gallant girles and beautifull dames, which with singing, eating, drinking and feasting, take their solace. The women of this countrey are most beautifull, and goe in rich attire bedecked with gold, pretious stones, and jewels of great value, but chiefely perfumed with odours, and are very libidinous, and the men likewise, but foule and hard favoured. The soile is very fertile and abundant, the flesh fat which they sell without bones, their candles they make of the marowe of cattell, because the Moores eate the tallow. They use also certaine litle furnaces made of purpose, under the which they make fire, putting into the furnace foure or five hundred egges, and the said fire they nourish by litle and litle, untill the chickens be hatched, which after they be hatched, and become somewhat bigger, they sell them by measure in such sort, as we sell and measure nuts and chestnuts and such like.

Of certaine notable monuments without the citie of Cairo.

WIthout the Citie, sixe miles higher into the land, are to be seene neere unto the river diverse Piramides, among which are three marveilous great, and very artificially wrought. Out of one of these are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten but all whole, the cause whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian soile, which will not consume the flesh of man, but rather dry and harden the same, and so alwayes conserveth it. And these dead bodies are the Mummie which the Phisitians and Apothecaries doe against our willes make us to swallow. Also by digging in these Pyramides oftentimes are found certaine Idoles or Images of golde, silver, and other mettall, but under the other piramides the bodies are not taken up so whole as in this, but there are found legges and armes comparable to

the limmes of giants. Neare to these piramides appeareth out of the sand a great head of stone somewhat like marble, which is discovered so farre as the necke joyneth with the shoulders, being all whole, saving that it wanteth a little tippe of the nose. The necke of this head contayneth in circuit about sixe and thirty foot, so that it may be according to the necke considered, what greatnesse the head is of. The river Nilus is a mile broad, wherein are very many great Croccodiles from Cairo upward, but lower then Cairo passeth no such creature: and this, they say, is by reason of an inchantment made long since which hindereth their passage for comming any lower then Cairo. Moreover of these creatures there are sometimes found some of an incredible bignesse, that is to say, of fourtie foot about. The males have their members like to a man, and the females like to a woman. These monsters oftentimes issue out of the water to feede, and finding any small beasts, as sheepe, lambes, goates, or other like, doe great harme. And whiles they are foorth of the water, if they happen at unwares upon any man, woman or childe, whom they can overcome, they spare not their lives. In the yeere of our Lorde one thousand five hundred and sixtie it happened, that certaine poore Christians travelling by Cairo towardes the countrey of Prete Janni to rescue certaine slaves, were guided by a Chaus, and journeyed alongst the banke of the said river. The Chaus remained lingering alone behinde to make his prayers (as their custome is) at a place called Tana, whom being busie in his double devotion one of these Crocodiles ceazed by the shoulders, and drew him under water, so that he was never after seene. And for this cause they have made in sundry places certaine hedges as bankes within the water, so that betwixt the hedge and banke of the river there remaineth so much water, that the women washing may take water without danger at their pleasure. This countrey is so fruitfull, that it [II. i. 202.] causeth the women as also other creatures to bring

foorth one, two, and oft-times three at a birth. Five miles southwarde of Cairo is a place called Matarea, where the balme is refined: and therefore some will say, that the trees which beare the balme growe in the said place, wherein they are deceived: for the sayde trees growe two dayes journey from Mecca, in a place called Bedrihone, which yeeldeth balme in great plenty, but salvage, wilde, and without vertue, and therefore the Moores carying the same within litle chests from Bedrihone to Matarea, where the trees being replanted (be it by vertue of the soyle, or the water, aire, or any other thing whatsoever) it sufficeth that here they beare the true balme and licour so much in these dayes esteemed of. In this place of Matarea there are certaine little houses, with most goodly gardens, and a chappell of antiquity, where the very Moores themselves affirme, that the mother of the blessed Christ fleeing from the fury of wicked Herode there saved her selfe with the childe, wherein that saying of the Prophet was fulfilled, Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum. The which Chappell in the yeare of our Lorde one thousand five hundred and foure, the Magnifico Daniel Barbaro first Consull of that place went to visite, and caused it to be renued and reedified, so that in these dayes there resort thither many Christians, who oftentimes bring with them a Priest, to say masse there. Also about an Harquebuz-shotte from Matarea is a spire of great height like to that at Rome, and more beautifull to beholde. Neere unto the olde Cairo are yet twelve storehouses of great antiquitie, but now very much decayed, and these till late dayes served to keepe corne for behoofe of the kingdome, concerning which many are of opinion, that the founder hereof was Joseph the sonne of Jacob, for consideration of the seven deare yeeres. Also passing higher up by the banke of Nilus, there is to bee seene a fayre Citie overflowed with water, the which at such time as Nilus floweth lyeth under water, but when the water returneth to the marke, there plainely appeare princely palaces, and stately pillars, being

of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharao was resident. Moreover three dayes journey higher up are two great images of speckled marble, all whole, and somewhat sunke into the earth, being things wonderfull to consider of, for the nose of either is two spannes and an halfe long, and the space from one eare to the other conteineth tenne spannes, the bodies being correspondent to their heads, and graven in excellent proportion, so that they are shapes of marvellous hugenesse, and these they call The wife, and The daughter of Pharao. *Olde Thebes.*

Of the patriarke of Greece.

IN Cairo are two Patriarkes, one of the Greekes, and another of the Jacobites. The Greeke Patriarke called Gioechni, being about the age of one hundred and thirteene yeeres, was a very good and holy man. They say, that when Soldan Gauri of Egypt reigned, there was done this miracle following: this good patriarke being envied at by the Jewes of the countrey, for none other cause, but for his good workes, and holy life, it happened (I say) that being in disputation with certaine of the Hebrewes in presence of the Sultan, and reasoning of their lawe and faith, it was sayd unto him by one of these Miscreants: sith thou beleevest in the faith of Christ, take and drinke this potion which I will give thee; and if thy Christ be true Messias and true God, he will (sayd he) deliver thee from daunger. To whom the auncient patriarke answered, that he was content: whereupon that cursed Jewe brought him a cuppe of the most venemous and deadly poyson that could be found, which the holy Patriarke having perceived, said: In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost: and having so sayde he dranke it quite up; which done, he tooke a droppe of pure water, putting it into that very cup, and gave it unto the Jewe, saying unto him, I in the name of my Christ have drunke thy poyson, and therefore in the name of thy expected Messias, drinke this water of mine within thine owne cuppe. Whereupon the Jewe

tooke the cup out of the hand of the Patriarke, and having drunke the water, within halfe an houre burst a sunder. And the Patriarke had none other hurt, save that he became somewhat pale in sight, and so remained ever after. And this miracle (which meriteth to be called no lesse) was done to the great commendation of the holy Patriarke in the presence of a thousand persons, and namely of the Soldan of Egypt : who seeing the despight of the Jewes, unto their owne cost and confusion compelled them to make the conduct, which with so many engines commeth into the castle from Nilus above mentioned. And this triumphant Patriarke not long since was alive, and in perfect health, which God continue long time.

[II. i. 203.]

Of the preparation of the Carovan to goe to Mecca.

AS touching the Carovan which goeth to Mecca, it is to be understoode, that the Mahumetans observe a kinde of lent continuing one whole moone, and being a moveable ceremonie, which sometimes falleth high, sometimes lowe in the yeere called in their tongue Ramazan, and their feast is called Bairam. During this time of lent all they which intende to goe unto Mecca resort unto Cairo, because that twentie dayes after the feast the Carovan is readie to depart on the voyage : and thither resort a great multitude of people from Asia, Grecia, and Barbaria to goe on this voyage, some mooved by devotion, and some for traffiques sake, and some to passe away the time. Nowe within fewe dayes after the feast they which goe on the voyage depart out of the citie two leagues unto a place called Birca, where they expect the Captaine of the Carovan. This place hath a great pond caused by the inundation of Nilus, and so made, that the camels and other beastes may drinke therein : whereof, namely, of Mules, Camels, and Dromedaries there are at least fortie thousand, and the persons which followe the Carovan everie yeere are about fiftie thousand,

fewe more or lesse, according to the times. Moreover every three yeeres they renue the Captaine of the Carovan, called in the Arabian tongue Amarilla Haggi, that is, the Captaine of the Pilgrimes, to whom the Grand Signior giveth every voiage eighteene purses, conteyning each of them sixe hundred twentie and five ducates of golde, and these be for the behoofe of the Carovan, and also to doe almes unto the needfull pilgrimes. This Captaine, besides other servingmen which follow him, hath also foure Chausi to serve him. Likewise he hath with him for the securitie of the Carovan foure hundred souldiers, to wit, two hundred Spachi or horsemen mounted on Dromedaries, and two hundred Janizaries riding upon Camels. The Chausi and the Spachi are at the charge of the Captaine, but the Janizaries not so, for their provision is made them from Cairo. The Spachi weare caps or bonnets like to the caps of Sergeants, but the Janizaries after another sort, with a lappe falling downe behinde like a French-hoode, and having before a great piece of wrought silver on their heads. The charge of these is to cause the Carovan to march in good array when neede requireth ; these are not at the commaundement of any but of the Captaine of the Carovan. Moreover the Captaine hath for his guide eight pilots, the office of whom is alwayes stable and firme from heire to heire, and these goe before guiding the Carovan, and shewing the way, as being well experienced in the place, and in the night they governe them as the mariners, by the starre. These also use to sende before foure or five men carrying pieces of dry wood which give light, because they should not goe out of the way, and if at any time through their ill hap they wander astray out of the way, they are cast downe and beaten with so many bastonadoes upon the soles of their feete, as serve them for a perpetuall remembrance. The Captaine of the Carovan hath his Lieutenant accompanied continually with fifteene Spachi, and he hath the charge to set the Carovan in order, and to cause them to depart on their

Pieces of dry wood in stead of torches.

journey when neede requireth : and during the voyage their office is some whiles to goe before with the foreward, sometimes to come behinde with the rereward, sometimes to march on the one side, and sometimes on the other, to spy, that the coast be cleare. The Carovan carrieth with it sixe pieces of ordinance drawen by 12 camels, which serve to terrifie the Arabians, as also to make triumph at Mecca, and other places. The marchants which followe the Carovan, some carry for marchandise cloth of silke, some Corall, some tinne, others wheat, rise, and all sorts of graine. Some sell by the way, some at Mecca, so that every one bringeth something to gaine by, because all marchandise that goeth by land payeth no custome, but that which goeth by sea is bound to pay tenne in the hundred.

The beginning of the voyage.

THe feast before the Carovan setteth forth, the Captaine with all his retinue and officers resort unto the castle of Cairo before the Basha, which giveth unto every man a garment, and that of the Captaine is wrought with golde, and the others are served according to their degree. Moreover he delivereth unto him ye Chisva Talnabi, which signifieth in the Arabian tongue, The garment of the Prophet : this vesture is of silke, wrought in the midst with letters of gold, which signifie : La illa ill' alla Mahumet Resullala : that is to say, There are no gods but God, and his ambassadour Mahumet. This garment is made of purpose to cover from top to botome a litle house in Mecca standing in the midst of the Mesquita, the which house (they say) was builded by Abraham or by his sonne Ismael. After this he delivereth to him a gate made of purpose for the foresaid [II i. 204.] house of Abraham wrought all with fine golde, and being of excellent workmanship, and it is a thing of great value. Besides, he delivereth unto him a covering of greene velvet made in maner of a pyramis, about nine palmes high, and artificially wrought with most fine golde,

and this is to cover the tombe of their prophet within Medina, which tombe is built in manner of a pyramis : and besides that covering there are brought many others of golde and silke, for the ornament of the sayde tombe. Which things being consigned, the Basha departeth not from his place ; but the Captaine of the Carovan taketh his leave with all his officers and souldiers, and departeth accompanied with all the people of Cairo orderly in manner of a procession, with singing, shouting and a thousand other ceremonies too long to recite. From the castle they goe to a gate of the citie called Bab-Nassera, without the which standes a Mosquita, and therein they lay up the sayd vestures very well kept and guarded. And of this ceremony they make so great account, that the world commeth to see this sight, yea the women great with childe, and others with children in their armes, neither is it lawfull for any man to forbid his wife the going to this feast, for that in so doing the wife may separate her selfe from her husband, and may lie with any other man, in regard of so great a trespasse. Now this procession proceeding from the castle towardes the Mosquita, the Camels which bring the vestures are all adorned with cloth of golde, with many little belles, and passing along the streete you may see the multitude casting upon the said vestures thousands of beautifull flowers of divers colours, & sweete water, others bringing towels & fine cloth touch the same, which ever after they keepe as reliques with great reverence. Afterward having left the vesture in the Mosquita, as is aforesaid, they returne againe into the citie, where they remaine the space of 20 dayes, and then the captaine departeth with his company, and taking the vestures out of the Mosquita, carieth the same to the foresaid place of Birca, where the Captaine having pitched his tent with the standard of the grand Signior over the gate, & the other principall tents standing about his, stayeth there some tenne dayes and no more : in which time all those resort thither that meane to follow the Carovan in this voyage to Mecca. Where

you shall see certaine women which intend to goe on this voiage accompanied with their parents and friends mounted upon Camels, adorned with so many tryfles, tassels, and knots, that in beholding the same a man cannot refraine from laughter. The last night before their departure they make great feasting and triumph within the Carovan, with castles and other infinite devises of fireworke, the Janizaries alwayes standing round about the tent of the Captaine with such shouting and joy, that on every side the earth resoundeth, and this night they discharge all their ordinance, foure or sixe times, and after at the breake of the day upon the sound of a trumpet they march forward on their way.

What times the Carovan travelleth, and when it resteth.

IT is to be noted, that from Cairo to Mecca they make 40 dayes journey or thereabout, & the same great dayes journeies. For the custome of the Carovan is to travell much and rest little, and ordinarily they journey in this maner: They travell from two a clocke in the morning untill the sunne rising, then having rested till noone, they set forward, and so continue till night, & then also rest againe, as is abovesaid, till two of the clocke: and this order they observe untill the end of the voiage, never changing the same, except in some places, whereof we will hereafter speake, where for respect of water they rest sometimes a day and an halfe, and this they observe to refresh themselves, otherwise both man and beast would die.

In what order the Carovan travelleth.

THe maner and order which the Carovan observeth in marching is this. It goeth divided into three parts, to wit, the foreward, the maine battell, and the rereward. In the foreward go the 8 Pilots before with a Chaus, which hath foure knaves, & ech knave carrieth a sinew of a bul, to the end that if occasion requireth, ye bastonado

may be given to such as deserve the same. These knaves cast offendours downe, turning up the soles of their feete made fast to a staffe, giving them a perpetuall remembrance for them & the beholders. This Chaus is as the Captaine of the foreward, which commandeth lights to be carried before when they travell in the night. Also there go in this foreward 6 Santones with red turbants upon their heads, & these eat and ride at the cost of the Captaine of the Carovan. These Santones when the Carovan arriveth at any good lodging, suddenly after they have escried the place, cry with an horrible voyce saying, good cheare, good cheare, we are neere to the wished lodging. For which good newes the chiefe of the company bestow their benevolence upon them. In this foreward goeth very neere the third part of the people of the Carovan, behind whom go alwayes 25 Spachi armed with swords, bowes & arrowes to defend them from thieves. Next unto the [II. i. 205.] foreward, within a quarter of a mile, followeth the maine battell, and before the same are drawen the sayd sixe pieces of ordinance, with their gunners, and fifteene Spachi Archers. And next unto these commeth the chiefe physicion, who is an olde man of authoritie, having with him many medicines, oyntments, salves, and other like refreshings for the sicke, having also camels with him for the sicke to ride on, which have no horse nor beast. Next unto him goeth one Camell alone, the fairest that can be found: for with great industrie is sought the greatest and fairest which may be found within the dominions of the Grand Signior. This camell also is decked with cloth of golde and silke, and carieth a litle chest made of pure Legmame made in likenesse of the arke of the olde Testament: but, as is abovesayd, made of pure Legmame, without golde or any other thing of cost. Within this chest is the Alcoran all written with great letters of golde, bound betweene two tables of massie golde, and the chest during their voyage is covered with Silke, but at their entring into Mecca it is all covered with cloth of golde, adorned with jewels, and

the like at the enterance into Medina. The Camell aforesayd which carrieth the chest, is compassed about with many Arabian singers and musicians, alwayes singing and playing upon instruments. After this folow fifteene other most faire Camels, every one carying one of the abovesayd vestures, being covered from toppe to toe with silke. Behind these goe twentie other Camels which carrie the money, apparell, and provision of the Amir el Cheggi captaine of the Carovan. After foloweth the royall Standard of the grand Signior, accompanied continually with the musicians of the captaine, and five and twentie Spachi archers, with a Chaus before them, and about these marveilous things goe all the people and Camels which follow the Carovan. Behind these, lesse then a mile, foloweth the rereward, whereof the greater part are pilgrimes: the occasion whereof is, for that the merchants seeke alwayes to be in the foreward for the securitie of their goods, but the pilgrimes which have litle to loose care not though they come behind. Behind these alwayes goe five and twentie other Spachi well armed with another Chaus their captaine, and fortie Arabians all Archers for guard of the rereward. And because the Carovan goeth alwayes along the red sea banke, which in going forth they have on their right hand, therfore the two hundred Janissaries parted into three companies goe upon their left hand well armed and mounted upon Camels bound one to another, for upon that side is all the danger of thieves, and on the other no danger at all, the captaine of the Carovan alwayes going about his people, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, never keeping any firme place, being continually accompanied with a Chaus and 25. Spachi, armed and mounted upon Dromedaries, and 8. musicians with violes in their handes, which cease not sounding till the captaine take his rest, upon whom they attend, till such time as he entreth his pavillion, and then licencing all his attendants and folowers to depart, they goe each man to their lodging.

Of things notable which are seene in this voyage by the way.

BEcause in the way there are not many things found woorthie memorie, for that the Carovan seldome resteth in places of habitation, of which in the way there are but fewe, yea rather the Carovan resteth altogether in the field: therefore in this our voyage wee will onely make mention of certaine Castles found in the way, which bee these, namely, Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. Of which five, the two first are kept of Moores, and the other three of Turkes, and for guard they have eight men or tenne at the most in every Castle, with foure or five Smerigli, which serve to keepe the water from the Arabians, so that the Carovan comming thither, may have wherewithall to refresh it selfe. Agerut is distant from Suez a port of the red Sea eight miles, where are alwayes resident five and twentie gallies of the Grand Signior for the keeping of that Sea. Nachel is distant from the Sea a dayes journey. The walles of Acba are founded upon the red Sea banke. Biritem and Muel likewise are dashed by the waves of the Sea. Ezlem is distant from thence above a dayes journey. These five Castles abovesayd are not of force altogether to defend themselves agaynst an hundred men. The Carovan departing from Birca untill Agerut findeth no water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betweene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agium el Cassap, and the other Magaraxiaibi, that is to say, the river of Jethro the father in lawe of Moses, for this is the place mentioned in the second chapter of Exodus, whither it is sayd that Moses fledde from the anger of Pharao, who would have killed him, because hee had slaine the Ægyptian, [II. i. 206.] which fought with the Hebrew, in which place stoode the citie of Midian; and there are yet the pondes, neere unto the which Moses sate downe. And from that place forward they finde more store of water by the way, and

in more places, though not so good. It is also to bee noted, that in this voiage it is needfull and an usuall thing, that the captaine put his hand to his purse, in these places, and bestow presents, garments, and turbants upon certaine of the chiefe of the Arabians, to the ende they may give him and his Carovan free passage: who also promise, that their followers likewise shall doe no damage to the Carovan, and bind themselves to accomplish the same, promising also by worde of mouth, that if the Carovan bee robbed, they will make restitution of such things as are stollen: but notwithstanding the Carovan is by them oftentimes damnified, and those which are robbed have no other restitution at the Arabians handes then the shewing of them a paire of heeles, flying into such places as it is impossible to finde them. Nowe the Carovan continuing her accustomed journeys, and having passed the abovesayd castles, and others not woorthie mention, at length commeth to a place called Jehbir, which is the beginning and confine of the state and realme of Serifo the king of Mecca: where, at their approching issueth out to meete them the governour of the land, with all his people to receive the Carovan, with such shouting and triumph, as is impossible to expresse, where they staie one whole day. This place aboundeth with fresh and cleare waters, which with streames fall downe from the high mountaines. Moreover, in this place are great store of dates, and flesh great store and good cheape, and especially laced muttons which willingly fall downe, and here the wearie pilgrimes have commoditie to refresh themselves, saying, that this wicked fact purgeth them from a multitude of sinnes, and besides increaseth devotion to prosecute the voiage. Touching the building in these places, it is to bee judged by the houses halfe ruinated, that it hath bene a magnificent citie: but because it was in times past inhabited more with thieves then true men, it was therefore altogether destroyed by Soldan Gauri king of Ægypt, who going on pilgrimage unto Mecca, and passing by this place, there

was by the inhabitants hereof some injurie done unto his Carovan, which hee understanding of, dissembled till his returned from Mecca, and then caused it to bee burned and destroyed in pitifull sort for revenge of the injurie done unto the Carovan. The Carovan having rested and being refreshed as is abovesayd, the next day departeth on the way, and the first place they arrive at woorthy mention is called Bedrihonem, in which place (as is aforesayd) grow those little shrubbes whereout Balme issueth. And before the Carovan arriveth at this place, a mile from the citie is a large and great field environed about with most high and huge mountaines. And in this field, according to the Alcoran, their prophet Mahomet had a most fierce and cruell battell given by the Christians of the countrey and other people which set themselves agaynst them, and withstood his opinion, so that hee was overcome and vanquished of the Christians, and almost halfe of his people slaine in the battell. Whereupon, the prophet seeing himselfe in such extremitie, fell to his prayers, and they say, that God having compassion upon his deare friend and prophet, heard him, and sent him infinite thousands of angels, wherewith returning to the battell, they conquered and overcame the conquerour. And therefore in memorie of this victorie, the Carovan lodgeth every yeere one night in this place, making great bonefires with great mirth. And they say that as yet there is heard upon the mountaines a litle drumme, which while the Carovan passeth, never ceaseth sounding. And they say further, that the sayd drumme is sounded by the angels in signe of that great victory graunted of God to their prophet. Also the Mahumetan writings affirme, that after the ende of the sayd battell, the prophet commaunded certaine of his people to goe and burie all the Mahumetans which were dead in the fields, who going, knew not the one from the other, because as yet they used not circumcision, so they returned unto him, answering, that they had bene to doe his commaundement, but they knew not the Musulmans from the

Christians. To whom the prophet answered, saying: Turne againe, and all those which you shall finde with their faces downeward, leave them, because all they are misbeleevers; and the other which you shall finde with their faces turned upward, them burie, for they are the true Musulmani, and so his commaundement was done.

The next morning by Sunne rising, the Carovan arriveth at Bedrihonem, in which place every man washeth himselfe from toppe to toe, as well men as women, and leaving off their apparell, having each one a cloth about their privities, called in their tongue Photah, and another white one upon their shoulders, all which can goe to Mecca in this habite, do so, and are thought to merite more then the other, but they which cannot doe so make a vowe to sacrifice a Ramme at the mountaine of pardons: and after they bee washed, it is not lawfull for [II. i. 207.] any man or woman to kill either flea or lowse with their handes, neither yet to take them with their nailes, untill they have accomplished their vowed orations in the mountaine of pardons abovesayd: and therefore they cary with them certaine stickes made of purpose in maner of a File, called in their language Arca, Cassah Guch, with which they grate their shoulders. And so the Carovan marching, commeth within two miles of Mecca where they rest that night. In the morning at the breake of day, with all pompe possible they set forward toward Mecca, and drawing neere thereunto, the Seripho issueth foorth of the citie with his guard, accompanied with an infinite number of people, shouting, and making great triumph. And being come out of the citie a boweshoote into a faire field, where a great multitude of tents are pitched, and in the middest the pavillion of the captaine, who meeting with the Serifo, after salutations on each side, they light from their horses and enter into the pavillion, where the king of Mecca depriveth himselfe of all authoritie and power, and committeth the same to the above-named captaine, giving him full licence and authoritie to commaund, governe, and minister justice

during his aboad in Mecca with his company, and on the other side the captaine to requite this liberalitie used toward him by the Serifo giveth him a garment of cloth of gold of great value, with certaine jewels and other like things. After this, sitting downe together upon carpets and hides they eate together, and rising from thence with certaine of the chiefest, and taking with them the garment and gate abovesayd, they goe directly to the Mosquita, attended on but with a fewe, and being entered, they cause the olde to be pulled downe, and put the newe coverture upon the house of Abraham, and the olde vesture is the eunuchs which serve in the sayde Mosquita, who after sell it unto the pilgrimes at foure or five serafines the pike: and happy doth that man thinke himselfe, which can get never so litle a piece thereof, to conserve ever after as a most holy relique: and they say, that putting the same under the head of a man at the houre of his death, through vertue thereof all his sinnes are forgiven. Also they take away the old doore, setting in the place the new doore, and the old by custome they give unto the Serifo. After having made their praiers with certaine ordinarie and woonted ceremonies, the Serifo remaineth in the citie, and the captaine of the pilgrimage returneth unto his pavillion.

Of the Serifo the king of Mecca.

THe Serifo is descended of the prophet Mahomet by Fatma daughter of that good prophet, and Alli husband to her, and sonne in lawe to Mahumet, who had no issue male, save this stocke of the Serifo, to the eldest sonne whereof the realme commeth by succession. This realme hath of revenues royall, every yeere halfe a million of golde, or litle more: and all such as are of the prophets kinred, or descended of that blood (which are almost innumerable) are called Emyri, that is to say, lordes. These all goe clothed in greene, or at the least have their turbant greene, to bee knowen from the other. Neither is it permitted that any of those Christians which

dwell or traffique in their Countrey goe clothed in greene, neither may they have any thing of greene about them: for they say it is not lawfull for misbeleevers to weare that colour, wherein that great friend and prophet of God Mahomet was woont to be apparelled.

Of the citie of Mecca.

THe Citie of Mecca in the Arabian tongue is called Macca, that is to say, an habitation. This citie is invironed about with exceeding high and barren mountaines, and in the plaine betweene the sayde mountaines and the citie are many pleasaunt gardens, where groweth great abundaunce of figges, grapes, apples, and melons. There is also great abundance of good water and fleshe, but not of bread. This citie hath no walles about it, and containeth in circuite five miles. The houses are very handsome and commodious, and are built like to the houses in Italie. The palace of the Serifo is sumptuous and gorgeously adorned. The women of the place are courteous, jocund, and lovely, faire, with alluring eyes, being hote and libidinous, and the most of them naughtie packes. The men of this place are given to that abhominable, cursed, and opprobrious vice, whereof both men and women make but small account by reason of the pond Zun Zun, wherein having washed themselves, their opinion is, that although like the dog they returne to their vomite, yet they are clensed from all sinne whatsoever, of which sin we will hereafter more largely discourse. In the midst of the city is ye great Mosquita, [II. i. 208.] with the house of Abraham standing in the very middest thereof, which Mosquita was built in the time when their prophet lived. It is foure square, and so great, that it containeth two miles in circuit, that is to say, halfe a mile each side. Also it is made in maner of a cloister, for that in the midst thereof separate from the rest, is the abovesayd house of Abraham, also the galleries round about are in maner of 4. streetes, and the partitions which divide the one street from the other are pillars, whereof

some are of marble, and others of lime and stone. This famous and sumptuous Mosquita hath 99. gates, and 5. steeples, from whence the Talismani call the people to the Mosquita. And the pilgrimes which are not provided of tents, resort hither, and for more devotion the men and women lie together aloft and beneath, one upon another, so that their house of praier becommeth worse sometimes then a den of thieves.

Of the house of Abraham.

THe house of Abraham is also foure square, and made of speckled stone, 20. paces high, and 40 in circuit. And upon one side of this house within the wall, there is a stone of a span long, and halfe a span broad, which stone (as they say) before this house was builded, fell downe from heaven, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce, that wheresoever this stone fell, there should be built the house of God, wherein God will heare sinners. Moreover, they say that when this stone fell from heaven, it was not blacke as now, but as white as the whitest snow, and by reason it hath bene so oft kissed by sinners, it is therewith become blacke: for all the pilgrimes are bound to kisse this stone, otherwise they cary their sinnes home with them again. The entrance into this house is very small, made in maner of a window, and as high from the ground as a man can reach, so that it is painful to enter. This house hath without 31. pillars of brasse, set upon cubike or square stones being red and greene, the which pillars sustaine not ought els save a threed of copper, which reacheth from one to another, whereunto are fastened many burning lampes. These pillars of brasse were caused to be made by Sultan Soliman grandfather to Sultan Amurath now Emperor. After this, having entred with the difficultie abovesayd, there stand at the entrance two pillars of marble, to wit, on each side one. In the midst there are three of Aloes-wood not very thicke, and covered with tiles of India of 1000. colours which serve to underproppe the Terratza. It is

so darke, that they can hardly see within for want of light, not without an evill smell. Without the gate five pases is the abovesayd pond Zun Zun, which is that blessed pond that the angell of the lord shewed unto Agar whiles she went seeking water for her sonne Ismael to drinke.

Of the ceremonies of the pilgrimes.

IN the beginning we have sayd how the Mahumetans have two feasts in the yeere. The one they call Pascha di Ramazaco, that is to say, The feast of fasting, and this feast of fasting is holden thirtie dayes after the feast, wherein the Carovan travelleth to Mecca. The other is called the feast of the Ramme, wherein all they which are of abilitie are bound to sacrifice a Ramme, and this they call Bine Bairam, that is to say, The great feast. And as the Carovan departeth from Cairo thirtie dayes after the little feast, so likewise they come hither five or sixe dayes before the great feast, to the ende the pilgrimes may have time before the feast to finish their rites and ceremonies, which are these. Departing from the Carovan, and being guided by such as are experienced in the way, they goe unto the citie twentie or thirtie in a company as they thinke good, walking through a streete which ascendeth by litle and litle till they come unto a certaine gate, whereupon is written on each side in marble stone, Babel Salema, which in the Arabian tongue signifieth, the gate of health. And from this place is descried the great Mosquita, which environeth the house of Abraham, which being descried, they reverently salute twise, saying, Salem Alech Jara sul Alla, that is to say, Peace to thee, ambassadour of God. This salutation being ended, proceeding on the way, they finde an arche upon their right hand, whereon they ascend five steps, upon the which is a great voyd place made of stone: after, descending other five steps, and proceeding the space of a flight-shoot, they finde another arche like unto the first, and this way from the one arche to the other

they go and come 7. times, saying alwaies some of their prayers, which (they say) the afflicted Agar sayd, whiles she sought and found not water for her sonne Ismael to drinke. This ceremonie being ended, the pilgrimes enter into the Mosquita, and drawing neere unto the house of Abraham, they goe round about it other seven times, alwayes saying: This is the house of God, and of his servant Abraham; This done, they goe to kisse that blacke stone abovesayd. After they go unto the pond Zun Zun, and in their apparell as they be, they wash [II. i. 209.] themselves from head to foote, saying, Tobah Allah, Tobah Allah, that is to say, Pardon lord, Pardon lord, drinking also of that water, which is both muddie, filthie, and of an ill savour, and in this wise washed and watered, every one returneth to his place of abode, and these ceremonies every one is bound to doe once at the least. But those which have a mind to overgoe their fellowes, and to go into paradise before the rest, doe the same once a day while the Carovan remaineth there.

What the Carovan doeth after having rested at Mecca.

THe Carovan having abode within the citie of Mecca five dayes, the night before the evening of their feast, the captaine with all his company setteth forward towards the mountaine of pardons, which they call in the Arabian tongue, Jabel Arafata. This mountaine is distant from Mecca 15. miles, and in the mid way thereto is a place called Mina, that is to say, The haven, and a litle from thence are 4. great pillars, of which hereafter we will speake. Now first touching the mountaine of Pardons, which is rather to be called a litle hill, then a mountain, for that it is low, litle, delightful and pleasant, containing in circuit two miles, and environed round about with the goodliest plaine that ever with mans eie could be seen, and the plaine likewise compassed with exceeding high mountains, in such sort, that this is one of the goodliest situations in the world: and it seemeth

The mountain of pardons.

verily, that nature hath therein shewed all her cunning, in making this place under the mountaine of pardons so broad and pleasant. Upon the side towards Mecca there are many pipes of water cleare, faire, and fresh, and above all most wholesome, falling down into certaine vessels made of purpose, where the people refresh and wash themselves, and water their cattel. And when Adam and Evah were cast out of paradise by the angel of the Lord, the Mahumetans say, they came to inhabite this litle mountaine of pardons. Also they say, that they had lost one another, and were seperated for the space of 40. yeeres, and in the end met at this place with great joy & gladnesse, and builded a litle house upon the top of this mountaine, the which at this day they call Beyt Adam, that is to say, the house of Adam.

Of the three Carovans.

THe same day that the Carovan of Cairo commeth to this place, hither come 2. Carovans also, one of Damasco, the other of Arabia, and in like maner all the inhabitants for ten dayes journey round about, so that at one time there is to be seen above 200000. persons, and more then 300000. cattell. Now all this company meeting together in this place the night before the feast, the three hostes cast themselves into a triangle, setting the mountaine in the midst of them: and all that night there is nothing to be heard nor seene, but gunshot and fireworkes of sundry sortes, with such singing, sounding, shouting, halowing, rumors, feasting, and triumphing, as is wonderfull. After this, the day of the feast being come, they are all at rest and silence, and that day they attend on no other thing, then to sacrifice oblations and prayers unto God, and in the evening all they which have horses mount thereon, and approch as nigh unto the mountaine as they can, and those which have no horses make the best shift they can on foote, giving ever unto the captaine of Cairo the chiefe place, the second to the captaine of Damasco, and the third to the captaine

of Arabia, & being all approched as is abovesayd, there commeth a square squire, one of the Santones, mounted on a camell well furnished, who at the other side of the mountain ascendeth five steps into a pulpit made for that purpose, and all being silent, turning his face towards the people, he maketh a short sermon of the tenour folowing.

The summe of the Santones sermon.

THe summe of this double doctors sermon is thus much in briefe. He sheweth them how many and how great benefits God hath given to the Mahumetan people by the hand of his beloved friend and prophet Mahomet, having delivered them from the servitude of sinne & from idolatry, in which before time they were drowned, and how he gave unto them the house of Abraham wherein they should be heard, and likewise the mountaine of pardons, by meanes whereof they might obtaine grace and remission of their sinnes: adding, that the mercifull God, who is a liberall giver of all good things, commaunded his secretarie Abraham to build him an house in Mecca, where his successours might make their prayers unto him and bee heard, at which time all the mountains in the world came together thither with sufficiencie of stones for building hereof, except that litle and low hill, which for povertie could not go to discharge this debt, for the which it became sorrowfull, [II. i. 210.] weeping beyond all measure for the space of thirtie yeeres, at the ende whereof the eternall God having pitie and compassion upon this poore Mountaine, saide unto it: Weepe no more (my daughter) for thy bitter plaints have ascended up into mine eares, therefore comfort thy selfe: for I will cause all those that shall goe to visite the house of my friend Abraham, that they shall not be absolved from their sinnes, unlesse they first come to doe thee reverence, and to keepe in this place their holiest feast. And this I have commanded unto my people by the mouth of my friend and prophet Mahumet. This said,

he exhorteth them unto the love of God, and to prayer and almes. The sermon being done at the Sunne-setting they make 3. prayers, namely, the first for the Serifo, the second for the Grand Signior with his hoste, and the third for all the people: to which prayers all with one voyce cry saying; Amni Ja Alla, Amni Ja Alla, that is to say, Be it so Lord, be it so Lord. Thus having had the Santones blessing and saluted the Mountaine of pardons, they returne the way they came unto Mina, whereof wee have made mention. In returning at the end of the plaine are the abovesaid 4. pillers, to wit, two on ech side of the way, through the midst whereof they say it is needfull that every one passe, saying, that who so passeth without looseth all that merit which in his pilgrimage he had gotten. Also from the mountaine of pardons until they be passed the said pillers none dare looke backward, for feare least the sinnes which he hath left in the mountains returne to him againe. Being past these pillers every one lighteth downe, seeking in this sandy field 50. or 60. litle stones, which being gathered, and bound in an handkerchiffe they carry to the abovesaid place of Mina, where they stay 5. dayes, because at that time there is a faire free and franke of al custome. And in this place are other 3. pillers, not together, but set in divers places, where (as their prophet saith) were the three apparitions which the divel made unto Abraham, and to Ismael his sonne; for amongst them they make no mention of Isaac, as if he had never bene borne. So they say, that the blessed God having commanded Abraham his faithfull servant to sacrifice his first begotten Ismael, the old Abraham went to do according to Gods wil, and met with the infernal enemie in the shape of a man, and being of him demanded whither he went, he answered, that he went to sacrifice his sonne Ismael, as God had commanded him. Against whom the divel exclaiming said: Oh doting old man, sith God in thine old age hath marveilously given thee this son (in whom all nations shalbe blessed) wherefore giving credite unto

vaine dreames, wilt thou kill him whom so much thou hast desired, and so intirely loved. But Abraham shaking him off proceeded on his way, whereupon the divel seeing his words could not prevaile with the father attempted the sonne, saying; Ismael, have regard unto thy selfe betimes in this thing which is so dangerous. Wherefore? answered ye childe. Because (saith the divel) thy doting father seeketh to take away thy life. For what occasion, said Ismael? Because (saith the enemie) he saith, that God hath commanded him. Which Ismael hearing hee tooke up stones and threw at him, saying, Auzu billahi minal scia itanil ragini, which is to say, I defend me with God from the divel the offender, as who would say, wee ought to obey the commandement of God and resist the divel with al our force. But to returne to our purpose, the pilgrimes during their aboad there goe to visite these three pillers, throwing away the little stones which before they gathered, whiles they repeat the same words which they say, that Ismael said to the divell, when hee withstoode him. From hence halfe a mile is a mountaine, whither Abraham went to sacrifice his sonne, as is abovesaid. In this mountaine is a great den whither the pilgrims resort to make their prayers, and there is a great stone naturally separated in the midst; and they say, that Ismael, while his father Abraham was busie about the sacrifice, tooke the knife in hand to proove how it would cut, and making triall divided the stone into two parts. The five dayes being expired, the captaine ariseth with all the Carovan, and returneth againe to Mecca, where they remaine other five dayes. And while these rest, we will treat of the city and port of Grida upon the Red Sea.

Of Grida.

Grida a port neere Mecca.

THerefore wee say that from Mecca to Grida they make two small dayes journey: and because in those places it is ill traveiling in the day-time by reason of the great heat of the Sunne, therefore they depart in the

evening from Mecca, and in the morning before Sunne-rising they are arrived halfe way, where there are certaine habitations well furnished, and good Innes to lodge in, but especially women ynough which voluntarily bestowe their almes upon the poore pilgrims: likewise departing the next evening, the morning after, they come unto Grida. This citie is founded upon the Red Sea banke, environed with wals & towers to the land-ward, but through continuance of time almost consumed and wasted: on the side to sea-ward it stands unwalled. Grida hath three gates, one on eche side, and the thirde in the midst towarde the land, which is called, The port of Mecca, neere unto which are 6. or 7. Turks upon [II. i. 211.] the old towers for guard thereof with foure faulcons upon one of the corners of the city to the land-ward. Also to sea-ward where the wall joyneth with the water, there is lately made a fort like unto a bulwarke, where they have planted 25 pieces of the best ordinance that might be had, which are very well kept and guarded. More outward towards the sea upon the farthest olde tower are other five good pieces with 30 men to guard them. On the other side of the city at the end of the wall there is lately builded a bulwarke strong and well guarded by a Sanjaccho with 150 Turks wel provided with ordinance and all other necessaries and munition, and all these fortifyings are for none other cause then for feare and suspition of the Portugals. And if the port were good all this were in vaine: but the port cannot be worse nor more dangerous, being all full of rocks and sands, in such wise, that the ships cannot come neere, but perforce ride at the least two miles off. At this port arrive every yeere forty or fifty great shippes laden with spices and other rich marchandize which yeeld in custome 150000 ducats, the halfe whereof goeth unto the Grand Signior, and the other halfe to the Serifo. And because there is none other thing worthy mention in Grida we wil returne to our Carovan which hath almost rested enough.

The Portugals greatly feared in the Red sea.

Forty or fifty rich ships arrive yerely at Grida.

Of their going to Medina.

THe Carovan departeth for Medina returning the same way they came unto Bedrihonem abovesayd, where they leave their ordinance and other cariages, whereof they have no need, with the pilgrims which have seene Medina aforetime, and desire not to see it againe, but stay in that place, expecting the carovan, and resting untill the carovan go from Bedrihonem to Medina, where they alwayes finde goodly habitations, with abundance of sweet waters, and dates enough, and being within foureteene miles of Medina they come unto a great plaine called by them Jabel el salema, that is to say, the mountaine of health, from which they begin to descry the city and tombe of Mahomet, at which sight they light from their horses in token of reverence. And being ascended up the sayd mountaine with shouting which pierceth the skies they say, Sala tuua salema Alaccha Jarah sul Allah. Sala tuua Salema Alaccha Janabi Allah, Sala tuua Salema Allaccha Jahabit Allah : which words in the Arabian tongue signifie : Prayer and health be unto thee, oh prophet of God : prayer and health be upon thee, oh beloved of God. And having pronounced this salutation, they proceed on their journey, so that they lodge that night within three miles of Medina : and the next morning the captaine of the pilgrimage ariseth, & proceeding towards the city, and drawing neere, there commeth the governour under the Serifo, accompanied with his people to receive the Carovan, having pitched their tents in the midst of a goodly field where they lodge.

Of Medina.

MEdina is a little city of great antiquity, containing in circuit not above two miles, having therein but one castle, which is olde and weake, guarded by an Aga with fifty pieces of artillery, but not very good. The houses thereof are faire and well situated, built of lime and stone, and in the midst of the city stands a foure-

square Mosquita, not so great as that of Mecca, but more goodly, rich, and sumptuous in building. Within the same in a corner thereof is a tombe built upon foure pillers with a vault, as if it were under a pavement, which bindeth all the foure pillers together. The tombe is so high, that it farre exceedeth in heighth the Mosquita, being covered with lead, and the top all inamelled with golde, with an halfe moone upon the top : and within the pavement it is all very artificially wrought with golde. Below there are round about very great staires of yron ascending up untill the midst of the pillers, and in the very midst thereof is buried the body of Mahomet, and not in a chest of yron cleaving to the adamant, as many affirme that know not the trueth thereof. Moreover, over the body they have built a tombe of speckled stone a ‖ brace and an halfe high, and over the same another of Legmame fouresquare in maner of a pyramis. After this, round about the sepulture there hangeth a curtaine of silke, which letteth the sight of those without, that they cannot see the sepulture. Beyond this in the same Mosquita are other two sepulchres covered with greene cloth, and in the one of them is buried Fatma the daughter of Mahomet, and Alli is buried in the other, who was the husband of the sayd Fatma. The attendants upon these sepulchres are fifty eunuches white and tawny, neither is it granted to any of them to enter within the tombe, saving to three white eunuches the oldest and best of credit ; unto whom it is lawfull to enter but twise in the day, to light the lamps, and to doe other services. All the other eunuchs attend without to the service of the Mosquita, and the other two sepulchres of Fatma, and Alli, where every one may go and touch at his pleasure, and take of the earth for devotion, as many do.

‖ *Or, a fathom.*

[II. i. 212.]

Of things without the City.

WIthout the city and on every side are most faire gardens, with many fountaines of most sweet water, infinite pondes, abundance of fruit, with much

honest living, so that this place is very pleasant and delightfull. This city hath three gates, one of which is an hospitall caused to be built by Cassachi, called the Rose, who was wife to Sultan Soliman grandfather to this emperour. The sayd hospitall hath nought els woorthy mention, save that it is fairely built, and hath large revenues belonging thereunto, and nourisheth many poore people. A mile from the city are certaine houses whereof they affirme one to be the same, where Mahumet in his lifetime dwelt. This house hath on every side very many faire date trees, amongst which there are two which grow out of one stocke exceeding high, and these, they say, their Prophet graffed with his owne hand: the fruit thereof is alwayes sent to Constantinople, to be presented unto the Grand Signior, and is sayd to be that blessed fruit of the Prophet. Nere unto the date trees is a faire fountaine of cleere and sweet water, the which by a conduct pipe is brought into the city of Medina. Also there is a little Mosquita, wherein three places are counted holy, and greatly reverenced: the first they affirme, that their Prophet made his first prayer in, after he knew God: the second is that whither he went when he would see the holy house of Abraham, where when he sate downe to that intent, they say the mountaines opened from the toppe to the bottome to shew him the house, and after closed againe as before: the third holy place is in the midst of the sayd Mosquita, where is a tombe made of lime and stone fouresquare, and full of sand, wherein, they say, was buried that blessed camell which Mahumet was alwayes woont to ride upon. On the other side of the city are other tombes of holy Mahumetans, and every one of them hath a tombe built upon foure pillers, amongst which three were the companions of Mahumet, to wit, Abubacar, Ottoman, and Omar; all which are visited of the pilgrims as holy places.

[The offering

The offering of the vestures unto the sepulchres.

THe Carovan being come to Medina two houres before day, and resting there till the evening, the captaine then with his company and other pilgrims setteth forward, with the greatest pompe possible: and taking with him the vesture which is made in maner of a pyramis, with many other of golde and silke, departeth, going thorow the midst of the city, untill he come to the Mosquita, where having praied, he presenteth unto the tombe of his prophet (where the eunuchs receiving hands are ready) the vesture for the sayd tombe: and certaine eunuchs entring in take away the old vesture, and lay on the new, burning the olde one, and dividing the golde thereof into equall portions. After this are presented other vestures for the ornament of the Mosquita. Also the people without deliver unto the eunuchs ech man somewhat to touch the tombe therewith, which they keepe as a relique with great devotion. This ceremony being ended, the captaine resteth in Medina two dayes, to the end the pilgrims may finish their devotion and ceremonies: and after they depart to Jambor. A good dayes journey thence is a steepe mountaine, over which is no passage, saving by one narrow path called Demir Capi, which was in times past called the yron gate. Of this gate the Mahumetans say, that Ally the companion and sonne in law of Mahumet, being here pursued by many Christians, and comming unto this mountaine, not seeing any way whereby to flee, drew out his sword, and striking the said mountaine, divided it in sunder, and passing thorow saved his life on the other side. Moreover, this Alli among the Persians is had in greater reverence then Mahumet, who affirme, that the sayd Alli hath done greater things and more miraculous then Mahumet, and therefore they esteeme him for God almighty his fellow. But to returne to our matter, the captaine with the carovan within two dayes after returneth for Cairo, and comming to Ezlem, findeth there a captaine with threescore horses

come thither to bring refreshments to the said captaine of the pilgrimage, as also to sell unto the pilgrims some victuals. From thence they set forward, and comming to Birca within two leagues of Cairo, there is the master of the house of the Bassha of Cairo with all his horsemen come thither to receive him, with a sumptuous and costly banket made at the cost of the Basha for the captaine and his retinue, who after he is well refreshed departeth toward the castle of Cairo to salute the Basha, who receiving him with great joy and gladnesse in token of good wil presenteth him with a garment of cloth of golde very rich: and the captaine taking the Alcaron out of the chest presenteth it to the Basha, who having kissed it, commandeth to lay it up againe. Some there are which affirme, that being arrived at Cairo, they kill that goodly camell which carried the Alcaron, and eate him; which is nothing so: for they are so superstitious to the contrary, that to gaine all the world they would not kill him. [II. i. 213.] But if by casualty he should die, in this case happy and blessed they thinke themselves, which can get a morsell to eat. And thus much concerning the voyage of the captaine of the carovan of Cairo.

The voyage and travell of M. Cæsar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice, into the East India, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are conteined the customes and rites of those countries, the merchandises and commodities, aswell of golde and silver, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other jewels: translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hickocke.

Cæsar Fredericke to the Reader.

Cæsar Fredericke travelled eighteene yeeres in the East Indies.

I Having (gentle Reader) for the space of eighteene yeeres continually coasted and travelled, as it were, all the East Indies, and many other countreys beyond the Indies, wherein I have had both good and ill successe in my travels: and having seene & understood

many things woorthy the noting, and to be knowen to all the world, the which were never as yet written of any: I thought it good (seeing the Almighty had given me grace, after so long perils in passing such a long voyage to returne into mine owne countrey, the noble city of Venice) I say, I thought it good, as briefly as I could, to write and set forth this voyage made by me, with the marvellous things I have seene in my travels in the Indies: The mighty Princes that governe those countreys, their religion and faith that they have, the rites and customes which they use, and live by, of the divers successe that happened unto me, and how many of these countreys are abounding with spices, drugs, and jewels, giving also profitable advertisement to all those that have a desire to make such a voyage. And because that the whole world may more commodiously rejoyce at this my travell, I have caused it to be printed in this order: and now I present it unto you (gentle & loving Readers) to whom for the varieties of things heerein conteined, I hope that it shall be with great delight received. And thus God of his goodnesse keepe you.

A voyage to the East Indies, and beyond the Indies, &c.

The authours going from Venice to Cyprus and Tripoly.

IN the yere of our Lord God 1563, I Cæsar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the world, shipped my selfe in a shippe called the Gradaige of Venice, with certaine marchandise, governed by M. Jacomo Vatica, which was bound to Cyprus with his ship, with whom I went: and when we were arrived in Cyprus, I left that ship, and went in a lesser to Tripoly in Soria, where I stayed a while. Afterward I tooke my journey to Alepo, and there I acquainted my selfe with marchants of Armenia, and Moores, that

were marchants, and consorted to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes journey and a halfe, wee came to a city called Bir.

Of the city called Bir.

BIr is a small city very scarse of all maner of victuals, and nere unto the walles of the city runneth the river of Euphrates. In this city the marchants divide themselves into companies, according to their merchandise that they have, and there either they buy or make a boat to carry them and their goods to Babylon downe the river Euphrates, with charge of a master and mariners to conduct the boat in the voyage: these boats are in a maner flat bottomed, yet they be very strong: and for all that they are so strong, they will serve but for one voyage. They are made according to the sholdnesse of the river, because that the river is in many places full of great stones, which greatly hinder and trouble those that goe downe the river. These boats serve but for one voyage downe the river unto a village called Feluchia, because it is impossible to bring them up the river backe againe. At Feluchia the marchants plucke their boats in pieces, or else sell them for a small price, for that at Bir they cost the marchants forty or fifty chickens a piece, and they sel them at Feluchia for seven or eight chickens a piece, because that when the marchants returne from Babylon backe againe, if they have marchandise or goods that oweth custome, then they make their returne in forty dayes thorow the wildernesse, passing that way with a great deale lesser charges then the other way. And if they have not marchandise that oweth custome, then they goe by the way of Mosul, where it costeth them great charges both the Carovan and company. From Bir where the marchants imbarke themselves to Feluchia over against Babylon, if the river have good store of water, they shall make their voyage in fifteene or eighteene dayes downe the river, and if the water be lowe, and it hath not rained, then it is

The river Euphrates.

Feluchia a small city on Euphrates.

Mosul.

[II. i. 214.]

much trouble, and it will be forty or fifty dayes journey downe, because that when the barks strike on the stones that be in the river, then they must unlade them, which is great trouble, and then lade them againe when they have mended them: therefore it is not necessary, neither doe the marchants go with one boat alone, but with two or three, that if one boat split and be lost with striking on the sholdes, they may have another ready to take in their goods, untill such time as they have mended the broken boat, and if they draw the broken boat on land to mend her, it is hard to defend her in the night from the great multitude of Arabians that will come downe there to robbe you: and in the rivers every night, when you make fast your boat to the banckeside, you must keepe good watch against the Arabians which are theeves in number like to ants, yet when they come to robbe, they will not kill, but steale & run away. Harquebuzes are very good weapons against them, for that they stand greatly in feare of the shot. And as you passe the river Euphrates from Bir to Feluchia, there are certein places which you must passe by, where you pay custome certaine medines upon a bale, which custome is belonging to the sonne of Aborise king of the Arabians and of the desert, who hath certaine cities and villages on the river Euphrates.

The Arabian theeves are in number like to Ants.

Feluchia and Babylon.

FEluchia is a village where they that come from Bir doe unbarke themselves and unlade their goods, and it is distant from Babylon a dayes journey and an halfe by land: Babylon is no great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of strangers because it is a great thorowfare for Persia, Turkia, and Arabia: and very often times there goe out from thence Carovans into divers countreys: and the city is very copious of victuals, which comme out of Armenia downe the river of Tygris, on certaine Zattares or Raffes made of blowen hides or skinnes called Utrii. This river Tygris doeth

The olde Babylon hath great trade wᵗ marchants still.

A VENETIAN MERCHANTMAN

wash the walles of the city. These Raffes are bound fast together, and then they lay boards on the aforesayd blowen skinnes, and on the boards they lade the commodities, and so come they to Babylon, where they unlade them, and being unladen, they let out the winde out of the skinnes, and lade them on cammels to make another voyage. This city of Babylon is situate in the kingdome of Persia, but now governed by the Turks. On the other side of the river towards Arabia, over against the city, there is a faire place or towne, and in it a faire Bazarro for marchants, with very many lodgings, where the greatest part of the marchants strangers which come to Babylon do lie with their marchandize. The passing over Tygris from Babylon to this Borough is by a long bridge made of boates chained together with great chaines: provided, that when the river waxeth great with the abundance of raine that falleth, then they open the bridge in the middle, where the one halfe of the bridge falleth to the walles of Babylon, and the other to the brinks of this Borough, on the other side of the river: and as long as the bridge is open, they passe the river in small boats with great danger, because of the smalnesse of the boats, and the overlading of them, that with the fiercenesse of the streame they be overthrowen, or els the streame doth cary them away, so that by this meanes, many people are lost and drowned: this thing by proofe I have many times seene.

A bridge made of boats.

Of the tower of Babylon.

THe Tower of Nimrod or Babel is situate on that side of Tygris that Arabia is, and in a very great plaine distant from Babylon seven or eight miles: which tower is ruinated on every side, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine: so that it hath no forme at all, yet there is a great part of it standing, which is compassed and almost covered with the aforesayd fallings: this Tower was builded and made of

These bricks be in thicknes six or seven inches, and a foot & a halfe square.

fouresquare Brickes, which Brickes were made of earth, and dried in the Sunne in maner and forme following: first they layed a lay of Brickes, then a Mat made of Canes, square as the Brickes, and in stead of lime, they daubed it with earth: these Mats of Canes are at this time so strong, that it is a thing woonderfull to beholde, being of such great antiquity: I have gone round about it, and have not found any place where there hath bene any doore or entrance: it may be in my judgement in circuit about a mile, and rather lesse then more.

This Tower in effect is contrary to all other things which are seene afar off, for they seeme small, & the more nere a man commeth to them the bigger they be: but this tower afar off seemeth a very great thing, and the nerer you come to it the lesser. My judgement & [II. i. 215.] reason of this is, that because the Tower is set in a very great plaine, and hath nothing more about to make any shew saving the ruines of it which it hath made round about, and for this respect descrying it a farre off, that piece of the Tower which yet standeth with the mountaine that is made of the substance that hath fallen from it, maketh a greater shew then you shall finde comming neere to it.

Babylon and Basora.

FRom Babylon I departed for Basora, shipping my selfe in one of the barks that use to go in the river Tigris from Babylon to Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: which barks are made after the maner of Fusts or Galliots with a Speron and a covered poope: they have no pumpe in them because of the great abundance of pitch which they have to pitch them with all: which pitch they have in abundance two dayes journey from Babylon. Nere unto the river Euphrates, there is a city called Heit, nere unto which city there is a great plaine full of pitch, very marvellous to beholde, and a thing almost incredible, that out of a hole in the earth, which continually throweth out pitch into the aire with con-

tinuall smoake, this pitch is throwen with such force, that being hot it falleth like as it were sprinckled over all the plaine, in such abundance that the plaine is alwayes full of pitch: the Mores and the Arabians of that place say, that that hole is the mouth of hell: and in trueth, it is a thing very notable to be marked: and by this pitch the whole people have great benefit to pitch their barks, which barks they call Daneck and Saffin. When the river of Tygris is well replenished with water, you may passe from Babylon to Basora in eight or nine dayes, and sometimes more and sometimes lesse: we were halfe so much more which is 14 or 15 daies, because the waters were low: they may saile day & night, and there are some places in this way where you pay so many medins on a baile: if the waters be lowe, it is 18 dayes journey.

This hole whereout commeth this pitch is most true, and the water & pitch runneth into the valley or Iland where the pitch resteth, & the water runneth into the river Euphrates, and it maketh all the river to be as it were brackish with the smell of pitch and brimstone.

Basora.

BAsora is a city of the Arabians, which of olde time was governed by those Arabians called Zizarii, but now it is governed by the great Turke where he keepeth an army to his great charges.

Zizarii, an ancient people.

The Arabians called Zizarii have the possession of a great countrey, and cannot be overcome of the Turke, because that the sea hath divided their countrey into an Iland by channels with the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and for that cause the Turke cannot bring an army against them, neither by sea nor by land, and another reason is, the inhabitants of that Iland are very strong and warlike men. A dayes journey before you come to Basora, you shall have a little castle or fort, which is set on that point of the land where the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris meet together, and the castle is called Corna: at this point, the two rivers make a monstrous great river, that runneth into the sea, which is called the gulfe of Persia, which is towards the South: Basora is distant from the sea fifteene miles, and it is a city of great trade of spices and drugges which come

At the castle of Corna the river Euphrates and Tygris do meet.

from Ormus. Also there is great store of corne, Rice, and Dates, which the countrey doth yeeld. I shipped my selfe in Basora to go for Ormus, and so we sailed thorow the Persian sea six hundred miles, which is the distance from Basora to Ormus, and we sailed in small ships made of boards, bound together with small cords or ropes, and in stead of calking they lay betweene every board certaine straw which they have, and so they sowe board and board together, with the straw betweene, wherethorow there commeth much water, and they are very dangerous. Departing from Basora we passed 200 miles with the sea on our right hand, along the gulfe, until at length we arrived at an Iland called Carichii, fro whence we sailed to Ormus in sight of the Persian shore on the left side, and on the right side towards Arabia we discovered infinite Ilands.

Ormus is the barrennest Iland in all the world.

Carichii an Iland in ye gulfe of Persia.

Ormus.

ORmus is an Iland in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barrenest and most drie Iland in all the world, because that in it there is nothing to be had, but salt water, and wood, all other things necessary for mans life are brought out of Persia twelve miles off, and out of other Ilands neere thereunto adjoyning, in such abundance and quantity, that the city is alwayes replenished with all maner of store: there is standing neere unto the waters side a very faire castell, in the which the captaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes resident with a good band of Portugalles, and before this castell is a very faire prospect: in the city dwell the maried men, souldiers and marchants of every nation, amongst whom there are Moores and Gentiles. In this city there is very great trade for all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, brocardo, and divers other sorts of marchandise come out of Persia: and amongst all other trades of merchandise, the trade of Horses is very great there, which they carry from thence into the Indies. This Iland hath a Moore

Ormus is alwayes replenished with abundance of victuall, and yet there is none that groweth in the Iland.

Great trade of merchandise in Ormus. [II. i. 216.]

king of the race of the Persians, who is created and made king by the Captaine of the castle, in the name of the king of Portugall. At the creation of this king I was there, and saw the ceremonies that they use in it, which are as followeth. The olde King being dead, the Captaine of the Portugals chuseth another of the blood royall, and maketh this election in the castle with great ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine sweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of Portugall, as his Lord and Governour, and then he giveth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feasting & pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall palace in the city. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath sufficient revenues to maintaine himselfe without troubling of any, because the Captaine of the castle doeth mainteine and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a king, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the consent of the Captaine first had: it behooveth them to doe this, and it is necessary, because of the great trade that is in the city: their proper language is the Persian tongue. There I shipped my selfe to goe for Goa, a city in the Indies, in a shippe that had fourescore horses in her. This is to advertise those Marchants that go from Ormus to Goa to shippe themselves in those shippes that carry horses, because every shippe that carrieth twenty horses or upwards is privileged, that all the marchandise whatsoever they carry shall pay no custome, whereas the shippes that carry no horses are bound to pay eight per cento of all the goods they bring.

The election of the king of Ormus.

A privilege for Marchants.

Goa, Diu, and Cambaia.

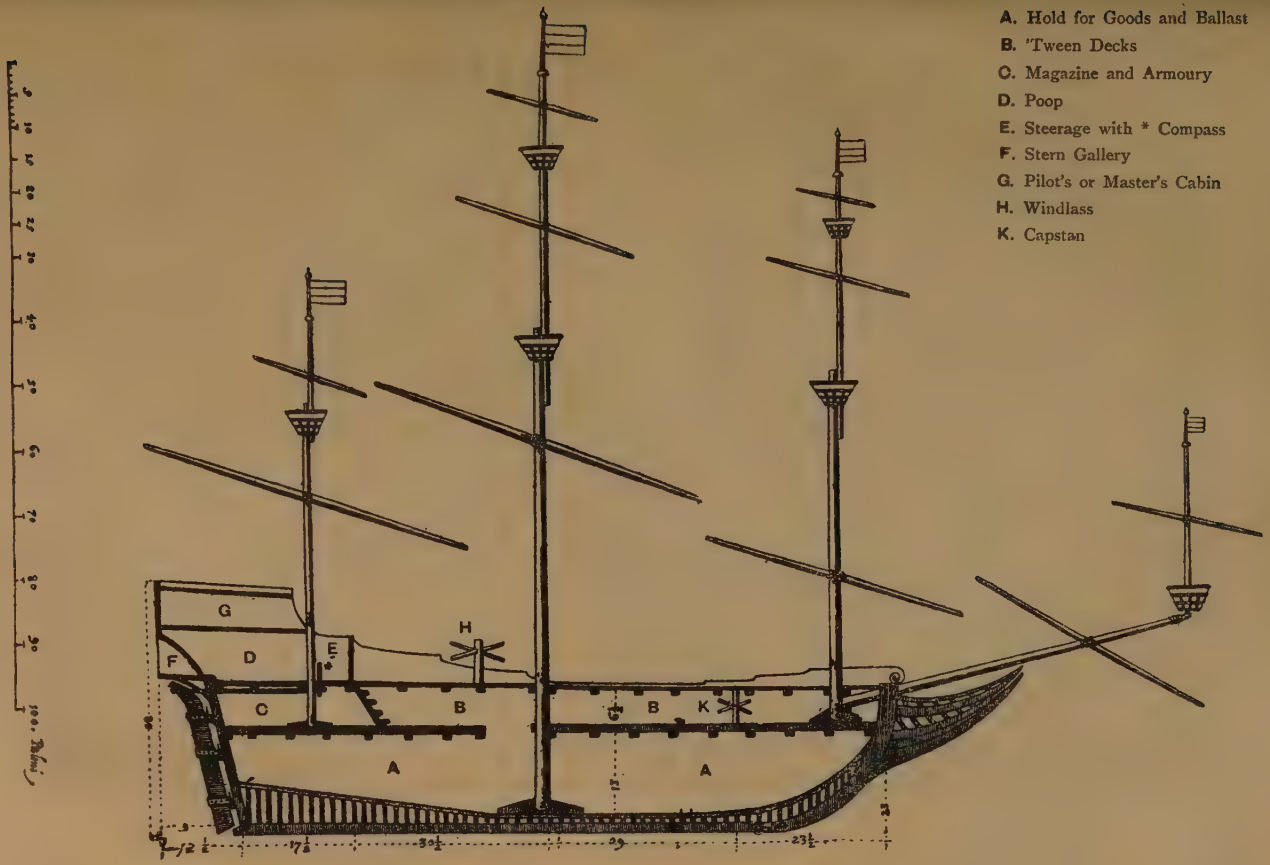
GOa is the principall city that the Portugals have in the Indies, where is resident the Viceroy with his Court and ministers of the King of Portugall. From Ormus to Goa is nine hundred foure score and ten miles distance, in which passage the first city that you come to

Diu. in the Indies, is called Diu, and is situate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals have in all the Indies, yet a small city, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandise, and these shippes belong to the Moores and Christians, but the Moores can not trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Viceroy of the king of Portugall, otherwise they are taken and made good prises. The marchandise that they lade these ships withall commeth from Cambaietta a port in the kingdome of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in small barks, because there can no great shippes come thither, by reason of the sholdnesse of the water thereabouts, and these sholds are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a straight or gulfe, which they call Macareo, which is as much to say, as a race of a tide, because the waters there run out of that place without measure, so that there is no place like to it, unlesse it be in the kingdome of Pegu, where there is another Macareo, where the waters run out with more force then these doe. The principall city in Cambaia is called *Cambaietta.* Amadavar, it is a dayes journey and an halfe from Cambaietta, it is a very great city and very populous, and for a city of the Gentiles it is very well made and builded with faire houses and large streets, with a faire place in it with many shippes, and in shew like to Cairo, but not so great: also Cambaietta is situate on the seas side, and is a very faire city. The time that I was there, the city was in great calamity & scarsenesse, so that I have seene the men of the countrey that were Gentiles take their children, their sonnes and their daughters, and have desired the Portugals to buy them, and I have seene them sold for eight or ten larines a piece, which may be of our money x.s. or xiii.s. iiii.d. For all this, if I had not seene it, I could not have beleeved that there should be such a trade at Cambaietta as there is: for in the time of every new Moone and every full Moone, the

small barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at those times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. These barkes be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of China, with Sandols, with Elephants teeth, Velvets of Vercini, great quantity of Pannina, which commeth from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of golde woorth seven shillings a piece sterling, with money, and with divers sorts of other marchandize. Also these barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantity of cloth made of Bumbast of all sorts, as white stamped and painted, with great quantity of Indico, dried ginger & conserved, Myrabolans drie and condite, Boraso in paste, great store of sugar, great quantity of Cotton, abundance of Opium, Assa Fetida, Puchio, with many other sorts of drugges, turbants made in Dui, great stones like to Corneolaes, Granats, Agats, Diaspry, Calcidonii, Hematists, and some kinde of naturall Diamonds. There is in the city of Cambaietta an order, but no man is bound to keepe it, but they that will; but all the [II. i. 217.] Portugall marchants keepe it, the which is this. There are in this city certain Brokers which are Gentiles and of great authority, and have every one of them fifteene or twenty servants, and the Marchants that use that countrey have their Brokers, with which they be served: and they that have not bene there are informed by their friends of the order, and of what broker they shall be served. Now every fifteene dayes (as abovesayd) that the fleet of small shippes entreth into the port, the Brokers come to the water side, and these Marchants assoone as they are come on land, do give the cargason of all their goods to that Broker that they will have to do their businesse for them, with the marks of all the fardles and packs they have: and the marchant having taken on land all his furniture for his house, because it is needfull that the Marchants that trade to the Indies cary provision of housholde with them, because that in every place where they come they must have a new house, the Broker that hath received his cargason, com-

Marchants that travell to the Indies must cary their provision of household with them.

mandeth his servants to carry the Marchants furniture for his house home, and load it on some cart, and carry it into the city, where the Brokers have divers empty houses meet for the lodging of Marchants, furnished onely with bedsteds, tables, chaires, and empty jarres for water: then the Broker sayth to the Marchant, Goe and repose your selfe, and take your rest in the city. The Broker tarrieth at the water side with the cargason, and causeth all his goods to be discharged out of the ship, and payeth the custome, and causeth it to be brought into the house where the marchant lieth, the Marchant not knowing any thing thereof, neither custome, nor charges. These goods being brought to this passe into the house of the Marchant, the Broker demandeth of the Marchant if he have any desire to sell his goods or marchandise, at the prises that such wares are worth at that present time? And if he hath a desire to sell his goods presently, then at that instant the Broker selleth them away. After this the Broker sayth to the Marchant, you have so much of every sort of marchandise neat and cleare of every charge, and so much ready money. And if the Marchant will imploy his money in other commodities, then the Broker telleth him that such and such commodities will cost so much, put aboord without any maner of charges. The Marchant understanding the effect, maketh his account; and if he thinke to buy or sell at the prices currant, he giveth order to make his marchandise away: and if he hath commodity for 20000 dukets, all shalbe bartred or solde away in fifteene dayes without any care or trouble: and when as the Marchant thinketh that he cannot sell his goods at the prise currant, he may tary as long as he will, but they cannot be solde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and payed the custome: and perchance tarying sometimes for sale of their commodity, they make good profit, and sometimes losse: but those marchandise that come not ordinarily every fifteene dayes, in tarying for the sale of them, there is great profit. The barks



SECTION THROUGH MERCHANTMAN

that lade in Cambaietta go for Diu to ade the ships that go from thence for the streights of Mecca and Ormus, and some go to Chaul and Goa: and these ships be very wel appointed, or els are guarded by the Armada of the Portugals, for that there are many Corsaries or Pyrats which goe coursing alongst that coast, robbing and spoiling: and for feare of these theeves there is no safe sailing in those seas, but with ships very well appointed and armed, or els with the fleet of the Portugals, as is aforesayd. In fine, the kingdome of Cambaia is a place of great trade, and hath much doings and traffique with all men, although hitherto it hath bene in the hands of tyrants, because that at 75 yeeres of age the true king being at the assault of Diu, was there slaine; whose name Sultan Badu. At that time foure or five captaines of the army divided the kingdome amongst themselves, and every one of them shewed in his countrey what tyranny he could: but twelve yeeres ago the great Mogol a Moore king of Agra and Delly, forty dayes journy within the land of Amadavar, became the governour of all the kingdome of Cambaia without any resistance, because he being of great power and force, devising which way to enter the land with his people, there was not any man that would make him any resistance, although they were tyrants and a beastly people, they were soone brought under obedience. During the time I dwelt in Cambaietta I saw very marvellous things: there were an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Mannii, or bracelets of elephants teeth, of divers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which have their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent every yeere many thousands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoever of their kindred, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and presently they go and buy new againe, because that they had rather be without their meat then without their bracelets.

Great store of men of warre and rovers on the coast of Cambaia.

A marvellous fond delight in women.

Daman. Basan. Tana.

HAving passed Diu, I came to the second city that the Portugals have, called Daman, situate in the territory of Cambaia, distant from Diu an hundred and twenty miles: it is no towne of merchandise, save Rice and corne, and hath many villages under it, where in time of peace the Portugals take their pleasure, but in time of warre the enemies have the spoile of them; in such wise that the Portugals have little benefit by them. Next unto Daman you shall have Basan, which is a filthy place in respect of Daman: in this place is Rice, Corne, and Timber to make shippes and gallies. And a small distance beyond Basan is a little Iland called Tana, a place very populous with Portugals, Moores, and Gentiles: these have nothing but Rice, there are many makers of Armesine, and weavers of girdles of wooll and bumbast blacke and redde like to Moocharies.

[II. i. 218.]

Tana an Iland whereof Odoricus writeth, pag. 41.

Of the cities of Chaul, and of the Palmer tree.

BEyond this Iland you shall finde Chaul in the firme land; and they are two cities, one of the Portugals, and the other of the Moores: that city which the Portugals have is situate lower then the other, and governeth the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly walled: and as it were a mile and an halfe distant from this is the city of Moores, governed by their king Zamalluco. In the time of warres there cannot any great ships come to the city of the Moores, because the Portugals with their ordinance will sincke them, for that they must perforce passe by the castles of the Portugals: both the cities are ports of the sea, and are great cities, and have unto them great traffique and trade of merchandise, of all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, Sandols, Marsine, Versine, Porcelane of China, Velvets and Scarlets that come from Portugall, and from Meca: with many other sortes of merchandise. There come every yeere from Cochin, and from Cananor tenne or fifteene great shippes

laden with great Nuts cured, and with Sugar made of the selfe same Nuts called Giagra: the tree whereon these Nuts doe grow is called the Palmer tree: and thorowout all the Indies, and especially from this place to Goa there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they do of this, there is not any part of it but serveth for some use, and none of it is woorthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make shippes without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaves thereof they make sailes, and with the fruit thereof, which be a kinde of Nuts, they make wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placetto, which wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquour like unto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessell under every tree, and every evening and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquour: and then they put it into buts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect wine. After this they make of the Nuts great store of oile: of the tree they make great quantity of boordes and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make cables, ropes, and other furniture for shippes, and, as they say, these ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the bowes, bedsteds, after the Indies fashion, and Scavasches for merchandise. The leaves they cut very small, and weave them, and so make sailes of them, for all maner of shipping, or els very fine mats. And then the first rinde of the Nut they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke shippes, great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make spoones and other vessels for meat, in such wise that there is no part thereof throwen away or cast to the fire. When these Mats be greene they are full

of an excellent sweet water to drinke: and if a man be thirsty, with the liquour of one of the Mats he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquor thereof turneth all to kernell. There goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao, for Portugall, for the coasts of Melinde, for Ormus, as it were an infinite number and quantity of goods and merchandise that come out of the kingdome of Cambaia, as cloth of bumbast white, painted, printed, great quantity of Indico, Opium, Cotton, Silke of every sort, great store of Boraso in Paste, great store of Fetida, great store of yron, corne, and other merchandise. The Moore king Zamalluco is of great power, as one that at need may command, & hath in his camp, two hundred thousand men of warre, and hath great store of artillery, some of them made in pieces, which for their greatnesse can not bee carried to and fro; yet although they bee made in pieces, they are so commodious that they worke with them marvellous well, whose shotte is of stone, and there hath bene of that shot sent unto the king of Portugall for the rarenes of the thing. The city where the king Zamalluco hath his being, is within the land of Chaul seven or eight dayes journey, which city is called Abneger. Threescore and tenne miles from Chaul, towards the Indies, is the port of Dabul, an haven of the king Zamalluco: from thence to Goa is an hundred and fifty miles.

Great ordinance made in pieces, and yet serviceable.

[II. i. 219.]

Goa.

The chiefe place the Portugals have in the Indies.

GOa is the principall city that the Portugals have in the Indies, wherein the Viceroy with his royall Court is resident, and is in an Iland which may be in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles: and the city with the boroughs is reasonable bigge, and for a citie of the Indies it is reasonable faire, but the Iland is farre more fairer: for it is as it were full of goodly gardens, replenished with divers trees and with the Palmer trees as is aforesayd. This city is of great trafique for all

sorts of marchandise which they trade withall in those parts: and the fleet which commeth every yeere from Portugall, which are five or sixe great shippes that come directly for Goa, arrive there ordinarily the sixth or tenth of September, and there they remaine forty or fifty dayes, and from thence they goe to Cochin, where they lade for Portugall, and often times they lade one shippe at Goa and the other at Cochin for Portugall. Cochin is distant from Goa three hundred miles. The city of Goa is situate in the kingdome of Dialcan a king of the Moores, whose chiefe city is up in the countrey eight dayes journey, and is called Bisapor: this king is of great power, for when I was in Goa in the yeere of our Lord 1570, this king came to give assault to Goa, being encamped neere unto it by a river side with an army of two hundred thousand men of warre, and he lay at this siege foureteene moneths: in which time there was peace concluded, and as report went amongst his people, there was great calamity and mortality which bred amongst them in the time of Winter, and also killed very many elephants. Then in the yeere of our Lord 1567, I went from Goa to Bezeneger the chiefe city of the kingdome of Narsinga eight dayes journey from Goa, within the land, in the company of two other merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian horses to that king: because the horses of that countrey are of a small stature, and they pay well for the Arabian horses: and it is requisite that the merchants sell them well, for that they stand them in great charges to bring them out of Persia to Ormus, and from Ormus to Goa, where the ship that bringeth twenty horses and upwards payeth no custome, neither ship nor goods whatsoever; whereas if they bring no horses, they pay 8 per cento of all their goods: and at the going out of Goa the horses pay custome, two and forty pagodies for every horse, which pagody may be of sterling money sixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of golde of that value. So that the Arabian horses are

A very good sale for horses.

of great value in those countreys, as 300, 400, 500 duckets a horse, and to 1000 duckets a horse.

Bezeneger.

THe city of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565, by foure kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure kings were these following, the first was called Dialcan, the second Zamaluc, the third Cotamaluc, and the fourth Viridy: and yet these foure kings were not able to overcome this city and the king of Bezeneger, but by treason. This king of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two captaines being of one religion with the foure kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands. The king of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his city to wage battell with them in the fieldes; and when the armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while not the space of foure houres, because the two traitourous captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their king, and made such disorder in his army, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this kingdome governed by three brethren which were tyrants, the which keeping the rightfull king in prison, it was their use every yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very yong, and then they tooke the government to themselves. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sate in the royall throne, and was called the king: the second was called Temiragio, and he tooke the government on him: the third was called Bengatre, and he was

A most unkind & wicked treason against their prince: this they have for giving credit to strangers, rather then to their owne native people.

captaine generall of the army. These three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefest and the last were never heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temiragio fled in the battel, having lost one of his eyes: when the newes came to the city of the overthrow in the battell, the wives and children of these three tyrants, with their lawfull king (kept prisoner) fled away, spoiled as they were, & the foure kings of the Moores entred the city Bezeneger with great triumph, & there they remained sixe moneths, searching under houses & in all places for money & other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne kingdomes, because they were not able to maintaine such a kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrey.

The sacking of the city.

[II. i. 220.]

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the city, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesayd two Merchants that I went in company withall, carried those horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or lawe, that if any Merchant had any of the horses that were taken in the aforesayd battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would: and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes he saw that there were great store of horses brought thither unto him, hee gave the Merchants faire wordes, untill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then he licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe.

An excellent good policy to intrap men.

I rested in Bezeneger seven moneths, although in one moneth I might have discharged all my businesse, for it was necessary to rest there untill the wayes were

cleere of theeves, which at that time ranged up and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dieth, his wife will take a moneths leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne her selfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning shee goeth out of her house very earely, either on horsebacke or on an eliphant, or else is borne by eight men on a smal stage: in one of these orders she goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the City, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with jewels and flowers, according to the estate of the party, and they goe with as great joy as Brides doe in Venice to their nuptials: shee carrieth in her left hand a looking glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth thorow the City as she passeth, and sayth, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spowse and husband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the City, and going along the rivers side called Nigondin, which runneth under the walles of the City, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square cave, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steppes up: the foresayd cave is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall be burned eateth with as great joy and gladnesse, as though it were her wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certeine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire

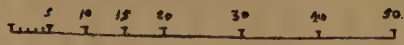
A discription of the burning place.

Feasting and dancing when they should mourne.

Midship Section

Section through Poop

View of Stern



Deck Plan

MEASUREMENTS OF MERCHANTMAN

in the square cave where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh the neerest kinseman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresayd river, where shee putteth off all her jewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parents or kinsefolke, and covering herselfe with a cloth, because she will not be seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the river, saying: O wretches, wash away your sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of foureteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinseman by the hand, and they go both together up to the pinnacle of the square cave wherein the fire is made. When she is on the pinnacle, shee talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will have them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affrayd of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oile, and sprinckleth it over her head, and with the same she anoynteth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the cave great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that she hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarse beare the hearing of it. I have seene many burnt in this maner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dieth any

Mourning when they should rejoyce.

great man, his wife with all his slaves with whom hee [II. i. 221.] hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him. Also in this kingdome I have seene amongst the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulchre, and setting him as it were upright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, untill such time as the Masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behinde the woman and strangleth her: then when she is dead, the workemen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried both together. Besides these, there are an infinite number of beastly qualities amongst them, of which I have no desire to write. I was desirous to know the cause why these women would so wilfully burne themselves against nature and law, and it was told mee that this law was of an ancient time, to make provision against the slaughters which women made of their husbands. For in those dayes before this law was made, the women for every little displeasure that their husbands had done unto them, would presently poison their husbands, and take other men, and now by reason of this law they are more faithfull unto their husbands, and count their lives as deare as their owne, because that after his death her owne followeth presently.

The cause why the women do so burne themselves.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567, for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their City was sacked by the foure kings, the king with his Court went to dwell in a castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was not there, but it was tolde me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certaine

Penegonde.

sise and bigger then that sise, are all for the king, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that have beene in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawfull king which he had in prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many kings, and great division in that kingdome, and the city of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but empty, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygers and other wilde beasts. The circuit of this city is foure & twentie miles about, and within the walles are certeine mountaines. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all saving the three palaces of the three tyrant brethren, and the Pagodes which are idole houses: these are made with lime and fine marble. I have seene many kings Courts, and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say, for the order of his palace, for it hath nine gates or ports. First when you goe into the place where the king did lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates: which are kept with Porters. Without the first gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, wherethorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first five gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the custome of the Gentiles is to doe their businesse, and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day. The city is very safe from theeves, for the Portugall merchants sleepe in the streets, or under

porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to go for Goa in the company of two other Portugall Marchants, which were making ready to depart, with two palanchines or little litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchines which are men hired to cary the palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we use to carry barrowes. And I bought me two bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and provision, for in that countrey they ride on bullocks with pannels, as we terme them, girts and bridles, and they have a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight dayes journey, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the moneth of July, and were fifteene dayes comming to Ancola on the sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two bullocks: for he that carried my victuals, was weake and could not goe, the other when I came unto a river where was a little bridge to passe over, I put my bullocke to swimming, and in the middest of the river there was a little Iland, unto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture, there he remained still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leave him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to go seven dayes a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our journey, for that every day wee were taken prisoners, by reason of the great dissension in that kingdome: and every morning at our departure we must pay rescat foure or five pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as wee came into a new governours countrey, as every day we did, although they were al tributary to the king of Bezeneger, yet every one of them stamped a several coine of Copper, so that the money that we tooke this day would not serve the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came

Men ride on bullocks, and travell with them on the way.

[II. i. 222.]

safe to Ancola, which is a country of the queene of Gargopam, tributary to the king of Bezeneger. The marchandise that went every yere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damasks, and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron, and Skarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turky for their commodities, jewels, and Pagodies which be ducats of golde: the apparell that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person with long hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white bombast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turks: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plenty of golde.

The marchandise that come in and out to Bezeneger every yere.

The apparell of those people.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in Ancola, one of my companions that had nothing to lose, tooke a guide, and went to Goa, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other Portugall not being disposed to go, taried in Ancola for that Winter. The Winter in those parts of the Indies beginneth the fifteenth of May, and lasteth unto the end of October: and as we were in Ancola, there came another Marchant of horses in a palanchine, and two Portugall souldiers which came from Zeilan, and two cariers of letters, which were Christians borne in the Indies; all these consorted to goe to Goa together, and I determined to goe with them, and caused a pallanchine to be made for me very poorely of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid privily all the jewels I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight Falchines to cary me: and one day about eleven of the clocke wee set forwards on our journey, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, as we passed a mountaine which divideth the territory of Ancola and Dialcan, I being a little behinde my company, was assaulted by eight theeves, foure of them had swordes and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes.

Their Winter is our Summer.

When the Falchines that carried me understood the noise of the assault, they let the pallanchine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: presently the theeves were on my necke and rifeling me, they stripped me starke naked, and I fained my selfe sicke, because I would not leave the pallanchine, and I had made me a little bedde of my clothes; the theeves sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two pursses that I had, well bound up together, wherein I had put my Copper money which I had changed for foure pagodies in Ancola. The theeves thinking it had beene so many duckats of golde, searched no further: then they threw all my clothes in a bush, and hied them away, and as God would have it, at their departure there fell from them an handkercher, and when I saw it, I rose from my pallanchine or couch, and tooke it up, and wrapped it together within my pallanchine. Then these my Falchines were of so good condition, that they returned to seeke mee, whereas I thought I should not have found so much goodnesse in them: because they were payed their mony aforehand, as is the use, I had thought to have seene them no more. Before their comming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein my jewels were hidden, out of my coutch, and to have made me a walking staffe to carry in my hand to Goa, thinking that I should have gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulness of my Falchines, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to Goa, in which time I made hard fare, for the theeves left me neither money, golde, nor silver, and that which I did eat was given me of my men for Gods sake: and after at my comming to Goa I payed them for every thing royally that I had of them. From Goa I departed for Cochin, which is a voyage of three hundred miles, and betweene these two cities are many holdes of the Portugals, as Onor, Mangalor, Barzelor, and Cananor. The Holde or Fort that you shall have from Goa to Cochin that belongeth to the Portugals, is called Onor, which

Foure small fortes of the Portugals.

is in the kingdome of the queene of Battacella, which is tributary to the king of Bezeneger: there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captaine and company he keepeth there. And passing this place, you shall come to another small castle of the Portugals called Mangalor, and there is very small trade but onely for a little Rice: and from thence you goe to a little fort called Barzelor, there they have good store of Rice which is carried to Goa: and from thence you shall goe to a city called Cananor, which is a harquebush shot distant from the chiefest city that ye king of Cananor hath in his kingdome being a king of the Gentiles: and he & his are very naughty & malicious people, alwayes having delight to be in warres with the Portugales, and [II. i. 223.] when they are in peace, it is for their interest to let their merchandize passe: there goeth out of this kingdom of Cananor, all the Cardamomum, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ships laden with great Nuts, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the bignesse of Nutmegs, which fruite they eate in all those partes of the Indies and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call Bettell, the which is like unto our Ivie leafe, but a litle lesser and thinner: they eate it made in plaisters with the lime made of Oistershels, and thorow the Indies they spend great quantitie of money in this composition, and it is used daily, which thing I would not have beleeved, if I had not seene it. The customers get great profite by these Herbes, for that they have custome for them. When this people eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to bee red like unto blood, and they say, that it maketh a man to have a very good stomacke and a sweete breath, but sure in my judgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthie lustes, and of a knaverie, for this Herbe is moyst and hote, & maketh a very strong expulsion. From Cananor you go to Cranganor, which is another smal Fort of the Portugales in the land of the king of Cranganor, which is another king of the Gentiles, and a countrey of small

Bettell is a very profitable herbe in that countrey.

importance, and of an hundreth and twentie miles, full of thieves, being under the king of Calicut, a king also of the Gentiles, and a great enemie to the Portugales, which when hee is alwayes in warres, hee and his countrey is the nest and resting for stranger theeves, and those bee called Moores of Carposa, because they weare on their heads long red hats, and these thieves part the spoyles that they take on the Sea with the king of Calicut, for hee giveth leave unto all that will goe a roving, liberally to goe, in such wise, that all along that coast there is such a number of thieves, that there is no sailing in those Seas but with great ships and very well armed, or els they must go in company with the army of the Portugals. From Cranganor to Cochin is 15 miles.

Enimies to the king of Portugall.

Cochin.

Within Cochin is the kingdom of Pepper.

COchin is, next unto Goa, the chiefest place that the Portugales have in the Indies, and there is great trade of Spices, drugges, and all other sortes of merchandize for the kingdome of Portugale, and there within the land is the kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the Portugales lade in their shippes by bulke, and not in sackes: the Pepper that goeth for Portugale is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, because that in times past the officers of the king of Portugale made a contract with the king of Cochin, in the name of the king of Portugale, for the prizes of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement betweene them at that time made, the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a very lowe and base price, and for this cause the villaines bring it to the Portugales, greene and full of filthe. The Moores of Mecca that give a better price, have it cleane and drie, and better conditioned. All the Spices and drugs that are brought to Mecca, are stollen from thence as Contrabanda. Cochin is two cities, one of the Portugales, and another of the king of Cochin: that of the Portugales is situate neerest unto the Sea, and that of the king of

The Pepper that the Portugals bring, is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, which is brought hither by ye streights.

Cochin is a mile and a halfe up higher in the land, but they are both set on the bankes of one river which is very great and of a good depth of water which river commeth out of the mountaines of the king of the Pepper, which is a king of the Gentiles, in whose kingdome are many Christians of saint Thomas order: the king of Cochin is also a king of the Gentiles and a great faithfull friend to the king of Portugale, and to those Portugales which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie Cochin of the Portugales. And by this name of Portugales throughout all the Indies, they call all the Christians that come out of the West, whether they bee Italians, Frenchmen, or Almaines, and all they that marrie in Cochin do get an office according to the trade he is of: this they have by the great privileges which the Citizens have of that city, because there are two principal commodities that they deale withal in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from China, and the great store of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any custome for these two commodities: for all other commodities they pay 4. per cento custome to the king of Cochin, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and strangers, pay in Cochin to the king of Portugale eight per cento of all maner of merchandise. I was in Cochin when the Viceroy of the king of Portugale wrought what hee coulde to breake the privilege of the Citizens, and to make them to pay custome as other did: at which time the Citizens were glad to waigh their Pepper in the night that they laded the ships withall that went to Portugale and stole the custome in the night. The king of Cochin having understanding of this, would not suffer any more Pepper to bee weighed. Then presently after this, the marchants were licensed to doe as they did before, and there was no more speach of this matter, nor any wrong done. This king of Cochin is of a small power in respect of the other kings of

Great privileges that the citizens of Cochin have.

[II. i. 224.]

the Indies, for hee can make but seventie thousand men of armes in his campe: hee hath a great number of Gentlemen which hee calleth Amochi, and some are called Nairi: these two sorts of men esteeme not their lives any thing, so that it may be for the honour of their king, they will thrust themselves forward in every danger, although they know they shall die. These men goe naked from the girdle upwardes, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and having their haire very long and rolled up together on the toppe of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their swordes naked, these Nairi have their wives common amongst themselves, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaveth his sworde and target at the doore, and the time that hee is there, there dare not any bee so hardie as to come into that house. The kings children shall not inherite the kingdome after their father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the king their father, but of some other man, therefore they accept for their king, one of the sonnes of the kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood roial, for that they be sure they are of the blood roiall.

A very strange thing hardly to be beleeved.

The Nairi and their wives use for a braverie to make great holes in their eares, and so bigge and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more noble they esteeme themselves. I had leave of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme up to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be litle, for then they open the eare, & hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, & within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they have for that purpose, which maketh the hole so great. They lade ships in Cochin for Portugale and for Ormus, but they that goe for

Ormus carrie no Pepper but by Contrabanda, as for Sinamome they easilie get leave to carrie that away, for all other Spices and drugs they may liberally carie them to Ormus or Cambaia, and so all other merchandize which come from other places, but out of the kingdom of Cochin properly they cary away with them into Portugale great abundance of Pepper, great quantitie of Ginger dried and conserved, wild Sinamom, good quantitie of Arecca, great store of Cordage of Cairo, made of the barke of the tree of the great Nut, and better then that of Hempe, of which they carrie great store into Portugale.

Note the departing of the ships from Cochin.

The shippes every yeere depart from Cochin to goe for Portugall, on the fift day of December, or the fift day of January. Nowe to follow my voyage for the Indies: from Cochin I went to Coulam, distant from Cochin seventie and two miles, which Coulam is a small Fort of the king of Portugales, situate in the kingdom of Coulam, which is a king of the Gentiles, and of small trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then she goeth to Cochin to take in the rest, and from thence to Cao Comori is seventie and two miles, and there endeth the coast of the Indies: and alongst this coast, neere to the water side, and also to Cao Comori, downe to the lowe land of Chialo, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Christian faith: there are also Churches of the Friers of S. Pauls order, which Friers doe very much good in those places in turning the people, and in converting them, and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ.

The fishing for Pearles.

The order how they fish for pearles.

THe Sea that lieth betweene the coast which descendeth from Cao Comori, to the lowe land of Chilao, and the Iland Zeilan, they call the fishing of Pearles, which fishing they make every yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it lasteth fiftie dayes, but they

doe not fishe every yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the same sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Divers, that goe to discover where the greatest heapes of Oisters bee under water, and right agaynst that place where greatest store of Oisters bee, there they make or plant a village with houses and a Bazaro, all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and it is furnished with all things necessarie, and nowe and then it is neere unto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fishe. The Fishermen are all Christians of the countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the king of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paule, which are in that coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Fustes armed to defend the Fishermen from Rovers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the
[II. i. 225.] order that they used in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barkes that make consort together, which are like to our litle Pilot boates, and a litle lesse, there goe seven or eight men in a boate: and I have seene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fifteene or eighteene fadome of water, which is the Ordinarie depth of all that coast. When they are at anker, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the ende of the rope, they make fast a great stone, and then there is readie a man that hath his nose and his eares well stopped, and annointed with oyle, and a basket about his necke, or under his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as fast as he can hee filleth the basket, and when it is full, he shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him up with the basket: and in such wise they goe one by one untill they have laden their barke with oysters, and at evening they come to the village, and then every company maketh their mountaine or

heape of oysters one distant from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long rowe of mountaines or heapes of oysters, and they are not touched untill such time as the fishing bee ended, and at the ende of the fishing every companie sitteth round about their mountaine or heape of oysters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easilie doe because they bee dead, drie and brittle: and if every oyster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that have no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a good gathering or a badde: there are certaine expert in the pearles whom they call Chitini, which set and make the price of pearles according to their carracts, beautie, and goodnesse, making foure sortes of them. The first sort bee the round pearles, and they be called Aia of Portugale, because the Portugales doe buy them. The second sorte which are not round, are called Aia of Bengala. The third sort which are not so good as the second, they call Aia of Canara, that is to say, the kingdome of Bezeneger. The fourth and last sort, which are the least and worst sort, are called Aia of Cambaia. Thus the price being set, there are merchants of every countrey which are readie with their money in their handes, so that in a fewe dayes all is bought up at the prises set according to the goodnesse and caracts of the pearles.

These pearles are prised according to the caracts which they weigh, every caract is 4. graines, and these men that prise them have an instrument of copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for to sort ye perles withall.

In this Sea of the fishing of pearles is an Iland called Manar, which is inhabited by Christians of the countrey which first were Gentiles, and have a small hold of the Portugales being situate over agaynst Zeilan: and betweene these two Ilands there is a chanell, but not very big, and hath but a small depth therein: by reason whereof there cannot any great shippe passe that way, but small ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must unlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that

way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the chanell, and after lade them into their shippes to goe for the Indies, and this doe all small shippes that passe that way, but those shippes that goe for the Indies Eastwardes, passe by the coast of Coromandel, on the other side by the land of Chilao which is betweene the firme land and the Iland Manor: and going from the Indies to the coast of Coromandel, they loose some shippes, but they bee emptie, because that the shippes that passe that way discharge their goods at an Iland called Peripatane, and there land their goods into small flat bottomed boates which drawe litle water, and are called Tane, and can run over every Shold without either danger or losse of any thing, for that they tarrie in Peripatane untill such time as it bee faire weather. Before they depart to passe the Sholdes, the small shippes and flat bottomed boates goe together in companie, and when they have sailed sixe and thirtie miles, they arrive at the place where the Sholdes are, and at that place the windes blowe so forciblie, that they are forced to goe thorowe, not having any other refuge to save themselves. The flat bottomed boates goe safe thorow, where as the small shippes if they misse the aforesayd chanell, sticke fast on the Sholdes, and by this meanes many are lost: and comming backe from the Indies, they goe not that way, but passe by the chanell of Manar as is abovesayd, whose chanell is Oazie, and if the shippes sticke fast, it is great chance if there be any danger at all. The reason why this chanell is not more sure to goe thither, is, because the windes that raigne or blowe betweene Zeilan and Manar, make the chanell so shalow with water, that almost there is not any passage. From Cao Comori to the Iland of Zeilan is 120. miles overthwart.

Zeilan.

ZEilan is an Iland, in my judgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that side towards the Indies lying Westward is the citie called Columba, which is a

hold of the Portugales, but without walles or enimies. It hath towards the Sea a free port, the lawfull king of [II. i. 226.] that Iland is in Columbo, and is turned Christian and maintained by the king of Portugall, being deprived of his kingdome. The king of the Gentiles, to whom this kingdome did belong, was called Madoni, which had two sonnes, the first named Barbinas the prince; and the second Ragine. This king by the pollicie of his yoonger sonne, was deprived of his kingdome, who because hee had entised and done that which pleased the armie and souldiours, in despight of his father and brother being prince, usurped the kingdome, and became a great warriour. First, this Iland had three kings; the king of Cotta with his conquered prisoners: the king of Candia, which is a part of that Iland, and is so called by the name of Candia, which had a reasonable power, and was a great friend to the Portugals, which sayd that hee lived secretly a Christian; the third was the king of Gianifampatan. In thirteene yeeres that this Ragine governed this Iland, he became a great tyrant.

In this Iland there groweth fine Sinamom, great store of Pepper, great store of Nuttes and Arochoe: there they make great store of Cairo to make Cordage: it bringeth foorth great store of Christall Cats eyes, or Ochi de Gati, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I have sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was desirous to see how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in armes, and in the field, with the king of the countrey; yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with mee and went into a wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great store of Sinamome trees growing together among other wilde trees; and this Sinamome tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaves like to our Baie tree.

Cairo is a stuffe that they make ropes with, the which is the barke of a tree.

The cutting & gathering of Sinamom.

In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the sappe goeth up to the toppe of the tree, then they take the Sinamom from that tree in this wise. They cut the barke of the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from joint to joint, above and belowe, and then easilie with their handes they take it away, laying it in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the tree dieth not, but agaynst the next yeere it will have a new barke, and that which is gathered every yeere is the best Sinamome: for that which groweth two or three yeeres is great, and not so good as the other is; and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

A rare thinge.

Negapatan.

FRom the Iland of Zeilan men use to goe with small shippes to Negapatan, within the firme land, and seventie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the countrey, and part Gentiles: it is a countrey of small trade, neither have they any trade there, save a good quantitie of Rice, and cloth of Bumbast which they carie into divers partes: it was a very plentifull countrey of victuals, but now it hath a great deale lesse; and that abundance of victuals caused many Portugales to goe thither and build houses, and dwell there with small charge.

This Citie belongeth to a noble man of the kingdome of Bezeneger being a Gentile, neverthelesse the Portugales and other Christians are well intreated there, and have their Churches there with a monasterie of Saint Francis order, with great devotion and very well accommodated, with houses round about: yet for all this, they are amongst tyrants, which alwayes at their pleasure may doe them some harme, as it happened in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred, sixtie and five: for I remember very well, how that the Nayer, that is to say, the lord of the citie, sent to the citizens to demaund of them certaine Arabian horses, and they having denied them unto him, and gainesayd his de-

maund, it came to passe that this lord had a desire to see the Sea, which when the poore citizens understood, they doubted some evill, to heare a thing which was not woont to bee, they thought that this man would come to sacke the Citie, and presently they embarked themselves the best they could with their mooveables, marchandize, jewels, money, and all that they had, and caused the shippes to put from the shore. When this was done, as their evill chance would have it, the next night following, there came such a great storme that it put all the shippes on land perforce, and brake them to pieces, and all the goods that came on land and were saved, were taken from them by the souldiours and armie of this lord which came downe with him to see the Sea, and were attendant at the Sea side, not thinking that any such thing would have happened.

A foolish feare of Portugals.

Saint Thomas or San Tome.

[II. i. 227.]

FRom Negapatan following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the house of blessed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great devotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles for the great miracles they have heard to have bene done by that blessed Apostle: neere unto this Church the Portugals have builded them a Citie in the countrey subject to the king of Bezeneger, which citie although it bee not very great, yet in my judgement it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies: and it hath very faire houses and faire gardens in vacant places very well accommodated: it hath streetes large and streight, with many Churches of great devotion, their houses be set close one unto another, with little doores, every house hath his defence, so that by that meanes it is of force sufficient to defend ye Portugals against the people of that countrey. The Portugals there have no other possession but their gardens and houses that are within the citie: the customes belong to the king of Bezeneger, which are very small and easie, for that it is a countrey of great riches

S. Thomas his sepulchre.

and great trade: there come every yeere two or three great ships very rich, besides many other small ships: one of the two great ships goeth for Pegu, and the other for Malacca, laden with fine Bumbast cloth of every sort, painted, which is a rare thing, because those kinde of clothes shew as they were gilded with divers colours, and the more they be washed, the livelier the colours will shew. Also there is other cloth of Bumbast which is woven with divers colours, and is of great value: also they make in Sant Tome great store of red Yarne, which they die with a roote called Saia, and this colour will never waste, but the more it is washed, the more redder it will shew: they lade this yarne the greatest part of it for Pegu, because that there they worke and weave it to make cloth according to their owne fashion, and with lesser charges. It is a marvelous thing to them which have not seene the lading and unlading of men and merchandize in S. Tome as they do: it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot bee served with small barkes, neither can they doe their businesse with the boates of the shippes, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine barkes (of purpose) high, which they call Masadie, they be made of litle boards; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haste all that they are able to rowe out against the huge waves of the sea that are on that shore, untill that they carie them to the ships: and in like maner they lade these Masadies at the shippes with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Barke-men leap out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that she cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading dry on land without any hurt or danger, and

A painted kind of cloth & died of divers colours which those people delight much in, and esteeme them of great price.

sometimes there are some of them that are overthrowen, but there can be no great losse, because they lade but a litle at a time. All the marchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can have no great harme.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand, five hundred, sixtie and sixe, I went from Goa unto Malacca, in a shippe or Gallion of the king of Portugal, which went unto Banda for to lade Nutmegs & Maces: from Goa to Malacca are one thousand eight hundred miles, we passed without the Iland Zeilan, and went through the chanell of Nicubar, or els through the chanell of Sombrero, which is by the middle of the Iland of Sumatra, called in olde time Taprobana: and from Nicubar to Pegu is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wilde people, and they call those Ilands the Ilands of Andemaon, and they call their people savage or wilde, because they eate one another: also these Ilands have warre one with another, for they have small Barkes, and with them they take one another, and so eate one another: and if by evil chance any ship be lost on those Ilands, as many have bene, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth uneaten or unslaine. These people have not any acquaintance with any other people, neither have they trade with any, but live onely of such fruites as those Ilands yeeld: and if any ship come neere unto that place or coast as they passe that way, as in my voyage it happened as I came from Malacca through the chanell of Sombrero, there came two of their Barkes neere unto our ship laden with fruite, as with Mouces which wee call Adams apples, with fresh Nuts, and with a fruite called Inani, which fruite is like to our Turneps, but is very sweete and good to eate: they would not come into the shippe for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their fruite, but they would trucke for olde shirtes or pieces of olde linnen breeches, these

In the Iland of Banda they lade Nutmegs for there they grow.

In the Ilands of Andemaon they eate one another.

ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke unto them, and looke what they thought those things to bee woorth, so much fruite they would make fast to the rope and let us hale it in: and it was told me that at sometimes a man shall have for an old shirt a good piece of Amber.

[II. i. 228.]

Sumatra.

THis Iland of Sumatra is a great Iland and devided and governed by many kings, and devided into many chanels, where through there is passage: upon the headland towardes the West is the kingdom of Assi governed by a Moore king: this king is of great force and strength, as he that beside his great kingdom, hath many Foists and Gallies. In his kingdom groweth great store of Pepper, Ginger, Benjamin: he is an utter enemy to the Portugals, and hath divers times bene at Malacca to fight against it, and hath done great harme to the boroughes thereof, but the citie alway withstood him valiantly, and with their ordinance did great spoile to his campe. At length I came to the citie of Malacca.

The commodities that grow in the kingdom of Assi.

The Citie Malacca.

MAlacca is a Citie of marveilous great trade of all kind of marchandize, which come from divers partes, because that all the shippes that saile in these seas, both great and small, are bound to touch at Malacca to paie their custome there, although they unlade nothing at all, as we doe at Elsinor: and if by night they escape away, and pay not their custome, then they fall into a greater danger after: for if they come into the Indies and have not the seale of Malacca, they pay double custome. I have not passed further then Malacca towards the East, but that which I wil speake of here is by good information of them that have bene there. The sailing from Malacca towards the East is not common for all men, as to China and Japan, and so

The great trade that is at Malacca.

forwards to go who will, but onely for the king of Portugall and his nobles, with leave granted unto them of the king to make such voiages, or to the jurisdiction of the captaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiages they make from Malacca thither, & these are the kings voiages, that every yere there departeth from Malacca 2. gallions of the kings, one of them goeth to ye Moluccos to lade Cloves, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Maces. These two gallions are laden for the king, neither doe they carie any particular mans goods, saving the portage of the Mariners and souldiers, and for this cause they are not voiages for marchants, because that going thither, they shal not have where to lade their goods of returne; and besides this, the captaine will not cary any marchant for either of these two places. There goe small shippes of the Moores thither, which come from the coast of Java, and change or guild their commodities in the kingdom of Assa, and these be the Maces, Cloves, and Nutmegs, which go for the streights of Mecca. The voiages that the king of Portugall granteth to his nobles are these, of China and Japan, from China to Japan, and from Japan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the lading of fine cloth, and every sort of Bumbast cloth. Sonda is an Iland of the Moores neere to the coast of Java, and there they lade Pepper for China. The ship that goeth every yeere from the Indies to China, is called the ship of Drugs, because she carieth divers drugs of Cambaia, but the greatest part of her lading is silver. From Malacca to China is eighteene hundred miles: and from China to Japan goeth every yeere a shippe of great importance laden with Silke, which for returne of their Silke bringeth barres of silver which they trucke in China. The distance betweene China and Japan is foure and twentie hundred miles, and in this way there are divers Ilands not very bigge, in which the Friers of saint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Christians

At the Moluccos they lade the Cloves.

The kingdome of Assa.

The ship of drugs, so termed of the Portugals.

Ilands not discovered.

there like to themselves. From these Ilands hitherwards the place is not yet discovered for the great sholdnesse of Sandes that they find. The Portugals have made a small citie neere unto the coast of China called Macao, whose church and houses are of wood, and it hath a bishoprike, but the customs belong to the king of China, and they goe and pay the same at a citie called Canton, which is a citie of great importance and very beautifull two dayes journey and a halfe from Macao. The people of China are Gentiles, and are so jealous and fearefull, that they would not have a stranger to put his foote within their land: so that when the Portugals go thither to pay their custome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not consent that they shall lie or lodge within the citie, but send them foorth into the suburbes. The

China is under the government of the great Tartar.

countrey of China is neere the kingdom of great Tartaria, and is a very great countrey of the Gentiles and of great importance, which may be judged by the rich and precious marchandize that come from thence, then which I beleeve there are not better nor in greater quantitie in the whole world besides.

[II. i. 229.]

First, great store of golde, which they carie to the Indies, made in plates like to little shippes, and in value three and twentie caracts a peece, very great aboundance of fine silke, cloth of damaske and taffata, great quantitie of muske, great quantitie of Occam in barres, great quantitie of quicksilver and of Cinaper, great store of Camfora, an infinite quantitie of Porcellane, made in vessels of diverse sortes, great quantitie of painted cloth and squares, infinite store of the rootes of China: and every yeere there commeth from China to the Indies, two or three great shippes, laden with most rich and precious marchandise. The Rubarbe commeth from thence over lande, by the way of Persia, because that every yeere there goeth a great Carovan from Persia to

A yeerely Carovan from Persia to China.

China, which is in going thither sixe moneths. The Carovan arriveth at a Citie called Lanchin, the place where the king is resident with his Court. I spake with

a Persian that was three yeeres in that citie of Lanchin, and he tolde me that it was a great Citie and of great importance. The voiages of Malacca which are in the jurisdiction of the Captaine of the castle, are these: Every yeere he sendeth a small shippe to Timor to lade white Sandols, for all the best commeth from this Iland: there commeth some also from Solor, but that is not so good: also he sendeth another small ship every yere to Cauchin China, to lade there wood of Aloes, for that all the wood of Aloes commeth from this place, which is in the firme land neere unto China, and in that kingdome I could not knowe how that wood groweth by any meanes. For that the people of the countrey will not suffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals or marchandise, the people bring that a boord the ship in small barkes, so that every day there is a mart kept in the ship, untill such time as she be laden: also there goeth another ship for the said Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Verzino: all these voiages are for the Captaine of the castle of Malacca, and when he is not disposed to make these voiages, he selleth them to another.

A market kept aboord of the ships.

The citie of Sion, or Siam.

SIon was the imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixtie and seven, it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage or came by lande foure moneths journey with an armie of men through his lande, and the number of his armie was a million and foure hundreth thousand men of warre: when hee came to the Citie, he gave assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie monethes before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu sixe moneths after his departure, and sawe when that his officers that were in Pegu, sent five hundreth thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them

A prince of marveilous strength and power.

that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene treason against the citie, it had not beene lost: for on a night there was one of the gates set open, through the which with great trouble the king gate into the citie, and became governour of Sion: and when the Emperour sawe that he was betrayed, and that his enemie was in the citie, he poysoned himselfe: and his wives and children, friends and noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the citie, were all caried captives into Pegu, where I was at the comming home of the king with his triumphs and victorie, which comming home & returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square, laden with golde, silver, jewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken prisoners in that citie.

Now to returne to my voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great shippe which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie situate on the coast of Coromandel: and because the Captaine of the castles of Malacca had understanding by advise that the king of *Assi would come with a great armie and power of men against them, therefore upon this he would not give licence that any shippes should depart: Wherefore in this ship wee departed from thence in the night, without making any provision of our water: and wee were in that shippe foure hundreth and odde men: we departed from thence with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the windes were so contrary, that they would not suffer us to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the sea as it were lost, and we were driven too and fro, so that the first lande that we discovered, was beyonde Saint Tome, more then five hundreth miles which were the mountaines of Zerzerline, neere unto the kingdome of Orisa, and so wee came to Orisa with many sicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were sicke in foure dayes dyed: and I for the space of a yeere after had my throat so sore and hoarse,

* Or *Achem.*

The mountaines of Zerzerline.

that I could never satisfie my thirst in drinking of water: I judge the reason of my hoarsenesse to bee with soppes that I wet in vineger and oyle, wherewith I susteyned my selfe many dayes. There was not any want of bread nor of wine: but the wines of that countrey are so hot [II. i. 230.] that being drunke without water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we beganne to want water, I sawe certaine Moores that were officers in the ship, that solde a small dish full for a duckat, after this I sawe one that would have given a barre of Pepper, which is two quintalles and a halfe, for a litle measure of water, and he could not have it. Truely I beleeve that I had died with my slave, whom then I had to serve mee, which cost mee verie deare: but to provide for the daunger at hand, I solde my slave for halfe that he was worth, because that I would save his drinke that he drunke, to serve my owne purpose, and to save my life.

Of the kingdome of Orisa, and the river Ganges.

ORisa was a faire kingdome and trustie, through the which a man might have gone with golde in his hande without any daunger at all, as long as the lawefull King reigned which was a Gentile, who continued in the citie called Catecha, which was within the land sixe dayes journey. This king loved strangers marveilous well, especially marchants which had traffique in and out of his kingdome, in such wise that hee would take no custome of them, neither any other grievous thing. Onely the shippe that came thither payde a small thing according to her portage, and every yeere in the port of Orisa were laden five and twentie or thirtie ships great and small, with ryce and divers sortes of fine white bumbaste cloth, oyle of Zerzeline which they make of a seed, and it is very good to eate and to fry fish withal, great store of butter, Lacca, long pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans dry and condite, great store of cloth of herbes, which is a kinde of silke which groweth amongst the

The commodities that go out of Orisa.

This cloth we call Nettle cloth.

woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growen round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About sixteene yeeres past, this king with his kingdome were destroyed by the king of Patane, which was also king of the greatest part of Bengala, and when he had got the kingdome, he set custome there twenty pro cento, as Marchants paide in his kingdome: but this tyrant enjoyed his kingdome but a small time, but was conquered by another tyrant, which was the great Mogol king of Agra, Delly, and of all Cambaia, without any resistance. I departed from Orisa to Bengala, to the harbour Piqueno, which is distant from Orisa towardes the East a hundred and seventie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongst the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the river Ganges: from the mouth of this river, to a citie called Satagan, where the marchants gather themselves together with their trade, are a hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteene houres with the increase of the water: in which river it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the Thamis, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe against it, by reason of the swiftnesse of the water, yet their barkes be light and armed with oares, like to Foistes, yet they cannot prevaile against that streame, but for refuge must make them fast to the banke of the river untill the next flowing water, and they call these barkes Bazaras and Patvas: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as ever I have seene any. A good tides rowing before you come to Satagan, you shall have a place which is called Buttor, and from thence upwards the ships doe not goe, because that upwardes the river is very shallowe, and litle water. Every yeere at Buttor they make and unmake a Village, with houses and shoppes made of strawe, and with all things necessarie to their uses, and this village standeth as long as the ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they are departed, every man goeth to his plot of houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made

The river of Ganges.

me to marvaile. For as I passed up to Satagan, I sawe this village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ships and Bazars, and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was al amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, & nothing left but the signe of the burnt houses. The small ships go to Satagan, and there they lade.

Of the citie of Satagan.

IN the port of Satagan every yeere lade thirtie or five and thirtie ships great and small, with rice, cloth of Bombast of diverse sortes, Lacca, great abundance of sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserved, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline, and many other sorts of marchandise. The citie of Satagan is a reasonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was governed by the king of Patane, and now is subject to the great Mogol. I was in this kingdome foure moneths, whereas many marchants did buy or fraight boates for their benefites, and with these barkes they goe up and downe the river of Ganges to faires, buying their commoditie with a great advantage, because that every day in the weeke they have a faire, now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a barke and went up and downe the river and did my businesse, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The kingdome of Bengala in times past hath bene as it were in the power of Moores, neverthelesse there is great store of Gentiles among them; alwayes whereas I have spoken of Gentiles, is to be understood Idolaters, and wheras I speak of Moores I meane Mahomets sect. Those people especially that be within the land doe greatly worship the river of Ganges: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the countrey to the banke of the river, and there they make him a small cottage of strawe, and every day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make

The commodities that are laden in Satagan.

[II. i. 231.]

Moores are of the sect of Mahomet.

A ceremony of the gentiles when they are dead.

a heape of stickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone untill it be halfe rosted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie jarre fast about his necke, and so throw him into the river. These things every night as I passed up and downe the river I saw for the space of two moneths, as I passed to the fayres to buy my commodities with the marchants. And this is the cause that the Portugales will not drinke of the water of the river Ganges, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of Nilus is. From the port Piqueno I went to Cochin, and from Cochin to Malacca, from whence I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles distant. That voyage is woont to be made in five and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the ende of three moneths our ship was without victuals. The Pilot told us that wee were by his altitude not farre from a citie called Tanasary, in the kingdome of Pegu, and these his words were not true, but we were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many uninhabited rockes, and there were also some Portugales that affirmed that they knew the land, and knewe also where the citie of Tanasari was.

Marchandise comming from Sion.

This citie of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great rivers side, which commeth out of the kingdome of Sion: and where this river runneth into the sea, there is a village called Mirgim, in whose harbour every yeere there lade some ships with Verzina, Nypa, and Benjamin, a few cloves, nutmegs and maces which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest marchandise there is Verzin and Nypa, which is an excellent wine, which is made of the floure of a tree called Nyper. Whose liquour they distill, and so make an excellent drinke cleare as christall, good to the mouth, and better to the stomake, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the french pockes, drinking good store of this, he shall be

whole againe, and I have seene it proved, because that when I was in Cochin, there was a friend of mine, whose nose beganne to drop away with that disease, and he was counselled of the doctors of phisicke, that he should goe to Tanasary at the time of the new wines, and that he should drinke of the nyper wine, night and day, as much as he could before it was distilled, which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is more strong, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkennesse. This man went thither, and did so, and I have seene him after with a good colour and sound. This wine is very much esteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, because it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is every yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpose, I say, being amongst these rockes, and farre from the land which is over against Tanasary, with great scarcitie of victuals, and that by the saying of the Pylot and two Portugales, holding then firme that wee were in front of the aforesayd harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the shippe should stay for us in a place assigned. We were twentie and eight persons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelve of the clocke we went from the ship, assuring our selves to bee in the harbour before night in the aforesaid port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any signe of good landing, and this came to passe through the evill counsell of the two Portugales that were with us.

Niper wine good to cure the French disease.

For we had overshot the harbour and left it behind us, in such wise that we had lost the lande inhabited, together with the shippe, and we eight and twentie men had no maner of victuall with us in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a litle rice with him in the boate to barter away for

some other thing, and it was not so much but that three or foure men would have eaten it at a meale: I tooke the government of this Ryce, promising that by the helpe of God that Ryce should be nourishment for us until it pleased God to send us to some place that was inhabited: & when I slept I put the ryce into my bosome because they should not rob it from me: we were nine daies rowing alongst the coast, without finding any thing but countreys uninhabited, & desert Ilands, where if we had found but grasse it would have seemed sugar unto us, but wee could not finde any, yet we found a fewe leaves of a tree, and they were so hard that we could not chewe them, we had water and wood sufficient, and as wee rowed, we could goe but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water, wee made fast our boat to the banke of one of those Ilandes, and in these nine dayes that we rowed, we found a cave or nest of Tortoises egges, wherein were one hundred fortie and foure egges, the which was a great helpe unto us: these egges are as bigge as a hennes egge, and have no shell about them but a tender skinne, every day we sodde a kettle full of those egges, with an handfull of rice in the broth thereof: it pleased God that at the ende of nine dayes we discovered certaine fisher men, a fishing with small barkes, and we rowed towardes them, with a good cheare, for I thinke there were never men more glad then we were, for wee were so sore afflicted with penurie, that we could scarce stande on our legges. Yet according to the order that we set for our ryce, when we sawe those fisher men, there was left sufficient for foure dayes. The first village that we came to was in the gulfe of Tavay, under the king of Pegu, whereas we found great store of victuals: then for two or three dayes after our arrivall there, we would eate but litle meate any of us, and yet for all this, we were at the point of death the most part of us. From Tavay to Martavan, in the kingdome of Pegu, are seventie two miles. We laded our bote with victuals

Great extremitie at sea.

[II. i. 232.]

Tavay under the king of Pegu.

which were aboundantly sufficient for sixe moneths, from whence we departed for the port and Citie of Martavan, where in short time we arrived, but we found not our ship there as we had thought we should, from whence presently we made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and neede of water, being at an anker with a contrary winde, which came very ill to passe, because that she wanted her boat a moneth, which should have made her provision of wood and water, the shippe also by the grace of God arrived safely in the aforesaid port of Martavan.

The Citie of Martavan.

Martavan a citie under the king of Pegu.

WE found in the Citie of Martavan ninetie Portugales of Merchants and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Retor or governour of the citie, and all for this cause, that certaine vagabondes of the Portugales had slaine five falchines of the king of Pegu, which chaunced about a moneth after the king of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men to conquere the kingdome of Sion. They have for custome in this Countrey and kingdome, the king being wheresoever his pleasure is to bee out of his kingdome, that every fifteene dayes there goeth from Pegu a Carovan of Falchines, with every one a basket on his head full of some fruites or other delicates of refreshings, and with cleane clothes: it chaunced that this Carovan passing by Martavan, and resting themselves there a night, there happened betweene the Portugales and them wordes of despight, and from wordes to blowes, and because it was thought that the Portugales had the worse, the night following, when the Falchines were a sleepe with their companie, the Portugales went and cut off five of their heads. Now there is a lawe in Pegu, that whosoever killeth a man, he shall buy the shed blood with his money, according to the estate of the person that is slaine, but these

A custom that these people have when the king is in the warres.

A law in Pegu for killing of men.

Falchines being the servants of the king, the Retors durst not doe any thing in the matter, without the consent of the king, because it was necessarie that the king should knowe of such a matter. When the king had knowledge thereof, he gave commaundement that the malefactors should be kept untill his comming home, and then he would duely minister justice, but the Captaine of the Portugales would not deliver those men, but rather set himselfe with all the rest in armes, and went every day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and ensignes displayd. For at that time the Citie was emptie of men, by reason they were gone all to the warres and in businesse of the king: in the middest of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a strange thing to see the Portugales use such insolencie in another mans Citie. And I stoode in doubt of that which came to passe, and would not unlade my goods because that they were more sure in the shippe then on the land, the greatest part of the lading was the owners of the shippe, who was in Malacca, yet there were diverse marchants there, but their goods were of small importance, all those marchants tolde me that they would not unlade any of their goods there, unlesse I would unlade first, yet after they left my counsell and followed their owne, and put their goods a lande and lost every whit. The Rector with the customer sent for mee, and demaunded why I put not my goods a lande, and payed my custome as other men did? To whom I answered, that I was a marchant that was newly come thither, and seeing such disorder amongst the Portugales, I doubted the losse of my goods which cost me very deare, with the sweate of my face, and for this cause I was determined not to put my goods on lande, untill such time as his honour would assure me in the name of the king, that I should have no losse, and although there came harme to the Portugales, that neither I nor my goods should have any hurt, because I had neither part nor any difference with them in this tumult: my

Great pride of the Portugales.

[II. i. 233.]

reason sounded well in the Retors eares, and so presently he sent for the Bargits, which are as Counsellers of the Citie, and there they promised mee on the kings head or in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods should have any harme, but that we should be safe and sure: of which promise there were made publike notes. And then I sent for my goods and had them on land, and payde my custome, which is in that countrey ten in the hundreth of the same goods, and for my more securitie I tooke a house right against the Retors house. The Captaine of the Portugales, and all the Portugall marchants were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the shippe, had my dwelling in the Citie. After this, the Gentiles devised to be revenged of the Portugales; but they would not put it in execution untill such time as our small shippe had discharged all her goods, and then the next night following came from Pegu foure thousand souldiers with some Elephants of warre; and before that they made any tumult in the citie, the Retor sent, and gave commaundement to all Portugales that were in the Citie, when they heard any rumour or noyse, that for any thing they should not goe out of their houses, as they tendered their owne health. Then foure houres within night I heard a great rumour and noyse of men of warre, with Elephants which threw downe the doores of the ware-houses of the Portugales, and their houses of wood and strawe, in the which tumult there were some Portugales wounded, and one of them slaine; and others without making proofe of their manhoode, which the day before did so bragge, at that time put themselves to flight most shamefully, and saved themselves a boord of litle shippes, that were at an anker in the harbour, and some that were in their beds fled away naked, and that night they caried away all the Portugalles goods out of the suburbes into the Citie, and those Portugales that had their goods in the suburbes also. After this the Portugales that were

A revenge on the Portugales.

fledde into the shippes to save themselves, tooke a newe courage to themselves, and came on lande and set fire on the houses in the suburbes, which houses being made of boorde and strawe, and the winde blowing fresh, in small time were burnt and consumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to have beene burnt; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recover any part of their goods againe, which goods might amount to the summe of sixteene thousand duckats, which, if they had not set fire to the towne, they might have had againe without any losse at all. Then the Portugales understanding that this thing was not done by the consent of the king, but by his Lieutenant and the Retor of the citie were very ill content, knowing that they had made a great fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugales beganne to bende and shoot their ordinance against the Citie, which batterie of theirs continued foure days, but all was in vaine, for the shotte never hit the Citie, but lighted on the top of a small hill neere unto it, so that the citie had no harme. When the Retor perceived that the Portugales made battery against the Citie, hee tooke one and twentie Portugales that were there in the Citie, and sent them foure miles into the Countrey, there to tarry untill such time as the other Portugales were departed, that made the batterie, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done unto them. I my selfe was alwayes in my house with a good guard appointed me by the Retor, that no man should doe me injurie, nor harme me nor my goods; in such wise that hee perfourmed all that he had promised me in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart before the comming of the king, which was greatly to my hinderance, because I was twenty and one moneths sequestred, that I could not buy nor sell any kinde of marchandize. Those commodities that I brought thither, were peper, sandols, and Porcellan of China: so when the king was come home, I made my

supplication unto him, and I was licenced to depart when I would.

From Martavan I departed to goe to the chiefest Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is also called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by sea in three or foure daies; they may goe also by lande, but it is better for him that hath marchandize to goe by sea and lesser charge. And in this voyage you shall have a Macareo, which is one of the most marveilous things in the world that nature hath wrought, and I never saw any thing so hard to be beleeved as this, to wit, the great increasing & diminishing of the water there at one push or instant, and the horrible earthquake and great noyse that the said Macareo maketh where it commeth. We departed from Martavan in barkes, which are like to our Pylot boates, with the increase of the water, and they goe as swift as an arrowe out of a bow, so long as the tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they drawe themselves out of the Chanell towardes some banke, and there they come to anker, and when the water is diminished, then they rest on dry land: and when the barkes rest dry, they are as high from the bottome of the Chanell, as any house top is high from the ground. They let their barkes lie so high for this respect, that if there should any shippe rest or ride in the Chanell, with such force commeth in the water, that it would overthrowe shippe or barke: yet for all this, that the barkes be so farre out of the Channell, and though the water hath lost her greatest strength and furie before it come so high, yet they make fast their prowe to the streme, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anker did not holde her prow up by strength, shee would be overthrowen and lost with men and goods. When the water beginneth to increase, it maketh such a noyse and so great that you would thinke it an earthquake, and presently at the first it maketh three waves. So that the first washeth over the barke, from stemme

A thing most marveilous, that at the comming of a tide the earth should quake.

[II. i. 234.]

This tide is like to the tides in our river of Severne.

These tides make their just course as ours doe.

to sterne, the second is not so furious as the first, and the thirde rayseth the Anker, and then for the space of sixe houres while the water encreaseth, they rowe with such swiftnesse that you would thinke they did fly: in these tydes there must be lost no jot of time, for if you arrive not at the stagions before the tyde be spent, you must turne backe from whence you came. For there is no staying at any place, but at these stagions, and there is more daunger at one of these places then at another, as they be higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martavan, they goe but halfe the tide at a time, because they will lay their barkes up aloft on the bankes, for the reason aforesayd. I could never gather any reason of the noyse that this water maketh in the increase of the tide, and in de-

This Macareo is a tide or a currant.

minishing of the water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in comparison of this. By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two cities, the olde and the newe, in the olde citie are the Marchant strangers, and marchantes of the Countrey, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This citie is not very great, but it hath very great

Houses made of canes & covered with leaves of trees.

suburbes. Their houses be made with canes, and covered with leaves, or with strawe, but the marchants have all one house or Magason, which house they call Godon

Godon is a place or house for marchants to lay their goods in.

which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any valure, to save them from the often mischances that there happen to houses made of such stuffe. In the new citie is the pallace of the king, and his abiding place with all his barons and nobles, and other gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finished the build-

The forme of the building of the new citie of Pegu.

ing of the new citie: it is a great citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about and with ditches that compasse the wals about with water, in which diches are many crocodils, it hath no drawe bridges, yet it hath twentie gates, five for every square on the walles, there are many places made for centinels to watch, made of wood and covered or guilt with gold, the streetes

thereof are the fayrest that I have seene, they are as streight as a line from one gate to another, and standing at the one gate you may discover to the other, and they are as broad as 10 or 12 men may ride a breast in them: and those streetes that be thwart are faire and large, these streetes, both on the one side and on the other, are planted at the doores of the houses, with nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadowe, the houses be made of wood and covered with a kind of tiles in forme of cups, very necessary for their use, the kings palace is in the middle of the citie, made in forme of a walled castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the lodgings within are made of wood all over gilded, with fine pinacles, and very costly worke, covered with plates of golde. Truely it may be a kings house: within the gate there is a faire large court, from the one side to the other, wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest Eliphants appointed for the service of the kings person, and amongst all other Eliphants, he hath foure that be white, a thing so rare that a man shall hardly finde another king that hath any such, and if this king knowe any other that hath white Eliphantes, he sendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrey, and that cost me something the sight of them, for they commaund the marchants to goe to see them, and then they must give somewhat to the men that bring them: the brokers of the marchants give for every man halfe a duckat, which they call a Tansa, which amounteth to a great summe, for the number of merchants that are in that citie; and when they have payde the aforesayde Tansa, they make chuse whether they will see them at that time or no, because that when they are in the kings stall, every man may see them that will: but at that time they must goe and see them, for it is the kings pleasure it should be so. This King amongst all other his titles, is called the King of the white Eliphants, and it is reported that if this king knewe any other king that had any of these

A rich and stately palace.

Foure white Eliphants.

This money called Tansa is halfe a duckat which may be three shillings & foure pence.

white Eliphantes, and would not send them unto him, that he would hazard his whole kingdome to conquer them, he esteemeth these white Eliphants very deerely, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meete service, every one of them is in a house, all guilded over, and they have their meate given them in vessels of silver and golde, there is one blacke Eliphant the greatest that hath bene seene, and he is kept according to his bignesse, he is nine cubites high, which is a marveilous thing. It is reported that this king hath foure thousand Elephants of warre, and all have their teeth, and they use to put on their two uppermost teeth sharpe pikes of yron, and make them fast with rings, because these beastes fight, and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many yong Eliphants that have not their teeth sprowted foorth: also this king hath a brave devise in hunting to take these Eliphants when hee will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire pallace all guilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and rounde about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stande to see this hunting: neere unto this Pallace is a mighty great wood, through the which the hunts-men of the king ride continually on the backs of the feminine Eliphants, teaching them in this businesse. Every hunter carieth out with him five or sixe of these feminines, and they say that they anoynt the secret place with a certaine composition that they have, that when the wilde Eliphant doeth smell thereunto, they followe the feminines and cannot leave them: when the hunts-men have made provision, & the Eliphant is so entangled, they guide the feminines towards the Pallace which is called Tambell, and this Pallace hath a doore which doth open and shut with engines, before which doore there is a long streight way with trees on both the sides, which covereth the way in such wise as it is like darkenesse in a corner: the wilde Eliphant when he commeth to this way, thinketh that he is in the woods. At end of this darke way there is a great field, when the hunters have

[II. i. 235.] *A warlike policie.*

An excellent devise to hunt and take wilde Eliphants.

gotten this praye, when they first come to this field, they send presently to give knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there go out fiftie or sixtie men on horsebacke, and doe beset the fielde rounde about: in the great fielde then the females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Eliphant is entred in there, the hunters shoute and make a great noyse, asmuch as is possible, to make the wilde Eliphant enter in at the gate of that Pallace, which is then open, and assoone as hee is in, the gate is shut without any noyse, and so the hunters with the female Eliphants and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females withdraw themselves away one by one out of the Court, leaving the wilde Eliphant alone: and when he perceiveth that he is left alone, he is so madde that for two or three houres to see him, it is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, hee flingeth, hee runneth, he justleth, hee thrusteth under the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kil some of them, but the posts and timber is so strong and great, that hee cannot hurt any body, yet hee oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates; at length when hee is weary and hath laboured his body that hee is all wet with sweat, then he plucketh in his truncke into his mouth, and then hee throweth out so much water out of his belly, that he sprinckleth it over the heades of the lookers on, to the uttermost of them, although it bee very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certaine officers into the Court with long sharpe canes in their hands, and prick him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that is made alongst the Court for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Eliphant is in, he cannot turne himself to go backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should be very wary and swift, for although their canes be long, yet the Eliphant would kill them if they were not swift to save themselves: at length when

An excellent pastime of the Eliphants.

These canes are like to them in Spaine which they call Joco de tore.

they have gotten him into one of those houses, they stand over him in a loft and get ropes under his belly and about his necke, and about his legges, and binde him fast, and so let him stand foure or five dayes, and give him neither meate nor drinke. At the ende of these foure or five dayes, they unloose him and put one of the females unto him, and give them meate and drinke, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my judgment there is not a beast so intellective as are these Eliphants, nor of more understanding in al the world: for he wil do all things that his keeper saith, so that he lacketh nothing but humaine speech.

A strange thing that a beast so wilde should in so short time be made tame.

The greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath.

It is reported that the greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath is in these Eliphants, for when they goe to battell, they set on their backes a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands under their bellies: and in every Castle foure men very commodiously set to fight with hargubushes, with bowes and arrowes, with darts and pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they say that the skinne of this Eliphant is so hard, that an harquebusse will not pierce it, unlesse it bee in the eye, temples, or some other tender place of his body. And besides this, they are of great strength, and have a very excellent order in their battel, as I have seene at their feastes which they make in the yeere, in which feastes the king maketh triumphes, which is a rare thing and worthy memorie, that in so barbarous a people there should be such goodly orders as they have in their armies, which be distinct in squares of Eliphants, of horsemen, of harquebushers and pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very nought and weake as well the one as the other: they have very bad pikes, their swords are worse made, like long knives without points, his harquebushes are most excellent, and alway in his warres he hath eightie thousand harquebushes, and the number of them encreaseth dayly. Because the king will have them shoote every day at the Plancke, and so by con-

A goodly order in a barbarous people.

The order of their weapons and number of his men.

[II. i. 236.]

tinuall exercise they become most excellent shot: also hee hath great Ordinance made of very good mettall; to conclude there is not a King on the earth that hath more power or strength then this king of Pegu, because hee hath twentie and sixe crowned kings at his commaunde. He can make in his Campe a million and an halfe of men of warre in the fielde against his enemies. The state of his kingdome and maintenance of his army, is a thing incredible to consider, & the victuals that should maintaine such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will easily beleeve it. I have seene with mine eyes, that those people and souldiers have eaten of all sorts of wild beasts that are on the earth, whether it bee very filthie or otherwise all serveth for their mouthes: yea, I have seene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great armie want not water and salt, they wil maintaine themselves a long time in a bush with rootes, flowers and leaves of trees, they cary rice with them for their voyage, & that serveth them in stead of comfits, it is so daintie unto them. This king of Pegu hath not any army or power by sea, but in the land, for people, dominions, golde and silver, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength. This king hath divers Magasons ful of treasure, as gold, & silver, and every day he encreaseth it more and more, and it is never diminished. Also hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Safires & Spinels. Neere unto his royal pallace there is an inestimable treasure whereof hee maketh no accompt, for that it standeth in such a place that every one may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of stone, with two gates which stand open every day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houses covered with lead, & in every one of these are certaine heathenish idoles of a very great valure. In the first house there is a stature of the

26. Crowned kings at his command. Fifteene hundreth thousand men in one Campe.

Eating of serpents.

The riches of the king of Pegu.

image of a man of gold very great, & on his head a crowne of gold beset with most rare Rubies and Safires, and round about him are 4. litle children of gold. In the second house there is the stature of a man of silver, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money: whose stature in height, as hee sitteth, is so high, that his highnesse exceedes the height of any one roofe of an house; I measured his feete, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a crowne on his head like to the first. And in the thirde house, there is a stature of brasse of the same bignesse, with a like crowne on his head. In the 4. and last house there is a stature of a man as big as the other, which is made of Gansa, which is the metall they make their money of, & this metall is made of copper & leade mingled together. This stature also hath a crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place that every man at his pleasure may go & see it: for the keepers therof never forbid any man the sight thereof. I say as I have said before, that this king every yere in his feastes triumpheth: & because it is worthy of the noting, I thinke it meet to write therof, which is as foloweth. The king rideth on a triumphant cart or wagon all gilded, which is drawen by 16. goodly horses: and this cart is very high with a goodly canopy over it, behind the cart goe 20. of his Lordes & nobles, with every one a rope in his hand made fast to the cart for to hold it upright that it fal not. The king sitteth in the middle of the cart; & upon the same cart about the king stande 4. of his nobles most favored of him, and before this cart wherein the king is, goeth all his army as aforesaid, and in the middle of his army goeth all his nobilitie, round about the cart, there are in his dominions, a marveilous thing it is to see so many people, such riches & such good order in a people so barbarous as they be. This king of Pegu hath one principal wife which is kept in a Seralio, he hath 300 concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath

The great pompe of the king.

90. children. This king sitteth every day in person to heare the suites of his subjects, but he nor they never speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order. The king sitteth up aloft in a great hall, on a tribunall seat, and lower under him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demaund audience enter into a great Court before the king, and there set them downe on the ground 40. paces distant from the kings person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the king, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaves of a tree, these leaves are 3. quarters of a yard long, & two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe iron made for y^t^ purpose, & in those leaves are their supplications written, & with their supplications, they have in their hands a present or gift, according to the waightines of their matter. Then come ye secretaries downe to read these supplications, taking them & reading them before the king, & if the king think it good to do to them that favour or justice that they demaund, then he commandeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not just or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents. In the Indies there is not any marchandise that is good to bring to Pegu, unlesse it bee at some times by chance to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if he bring money he shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from S. Tome are the onely marchandize for that place, which is the great quantity of cloth made there, which they use in Pegu; which cloth is made of bombast woven and painted, so that the more that kinde of cloth is washed, the more livelie they shewe their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such accompt of this kinde of cloth which is of so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand duckets. Also from S. Tome they layd great store of red yarne, of bombast died with a roote which they call

The order of Justice.

No difference of persons before the King in controversies or in justice.

[II. i. 237.] *The commodities that are ventured in Pegu.*

Saia, as aforesayd, which colour will never out. With which marchandise every yeere there goeth a great shippe from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they usually depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 11. or 12. of September, & if she stay until the twelfth, it is a great hap if she returne not without making of her voiage. Their use was to depart the sixt of September, and then they made sure voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kind of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it be well dried, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his fraight, thinking to have the wind alwayes to serve their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the winde turneth. For in those parts the windes blow firmely for certaine times, with the which they goe to Pegu with the winde in poope, and if they arrive not there before the winde change, and get ground to anker, perforce they must returne backe againe: for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast & anker there, then with great labour they may save their voyage. Also there goeth another great shippe from Bengala every yeere, laden with fine cloth of bombast of all sorts, which arriveth in the harbour of Pegu, when the ship that commeth from S. Tome departeth. The harbour where these two ships arrive is called Cosmin. From Malaca to Martavan, which is a port in Pegu, there come many small ships, and great, laden with pepper, Sandolo, Porcellan of China, Camfora, Bruneo and other marchandise. The ships that come from Mecca enter into the port of Pegu and Cirion, and those shippes bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they lose, and they bring them because they have no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they esteeme not the losse of them, for that they make such great gaine of their commodities that they cary from thence out of that kingdome. Also the king of Assi his ships come thither

Note the departure of the ships from S. Tome to Pegu.

Commodities brought into Pegu.

The Chikinos are pieces of gold worth sterling 7. shillings.

into the same port laden with peper ; from the coast of S. Tome of Bengala out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundreth miles, and they go it up the river in foure daies, with the encreasing water, or with the flood, to a City called Cosmin, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of every man, & take the charge of the goods on them, and convey them to Pegu, into the kings house, wherin they make the custome of the marchandize. When the Customers have taken the charge of the goods & put them into barks, the Retor of the City giveth licence to the Marchants to take barke, and goe up to Pegu with their marchandize; and so three or foure of them take a barke and goe up to Pegu in company. God deliver every man that hee give not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to steale any custome : for if they do, for the least trifle that is, he is utterly undone, for the king doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceived of his custome ; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and unlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine cloth which taketh little roome : for because that all the jewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that countrey, pay custome, but Rubies, Safyres and Spinels pay no custome in nor out: because they are found growing in that Countrey. I have spoken before, how that all Marchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, must cary al maner of houshold stuffe with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is not any lodging nor Innes nor hostes, nor chamber roome in that Countrey, but the first thing a man doth when he commeth to any City is to hier a house, either by the yeere or by the moneth, or as he meanes to stay in those parts.

Great rigour for the stealing of Custome.

In Pegu their order is to hire their houses for sixe moneths. Nowe from Cosmin to the Citie of Pegu

they goe in sixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their boate to the river side, and there tary until the water flow againe. *Description of the fruitfulnesse of that soyle.* It is a very commodious and pleasant voyage, having on both sides of the rivers many great vilages, which they call Cities: in the which hennes, pigeons, egges, milke, rice, and other things be very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your voyage up to Macceo, distant from Pegu twelve miles, & there they discharge their goods, & lade them in Carts or waines drawen with oxen, and the Marchants are caried in a closet which they call *Deling is a small litter caried with men as is aforesaid.* Deling, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with cushions under his head, and covered for the defence of the Sunne and raine, and there he may sleepe if he have wil thereunto: and his foure Falchines cary him running away, changing two at one time and two at another. The custome of Pegu and fraight thither, may amount unto twentie or twentie two per cento, and 23. according as he hath more or lesse stolen from him that day they custome the goods. It is requisite that a man have his eyes watchfull, and to be [II. i. 238.] carefull, and to have many friendes, for when they custome in the great hall of the king, there come many gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaves, and these gentlemen have no shame that their slaves rob strangers: whether it be cloth in shewing of it or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Marchants helpe one another to keepe watch, & looke to their goods, they cannot looke therto so narrowly but one or other wil rob something, either more or lesse, according as their marchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you have set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape unrobbed of the slaves, a man cannot choose but that he must be robbed of the officers of the custome house. For paying the custome with the same goods oftentimes they take the best that

you have, & not by rate of every sort as they ought to do, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the custome house in this order, the Marchant causeth them to be caried to his house, and may do with them at his pleasure.

There are in Pegu 8. brokers of the kings, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to sell all the marchandize which come to Pegu, at the common or the currant price: then if the marchants wil sell their goods at that price, they sel them away, and the brokers have two in the hundreth of every sort of marchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they be sold by their hands or meanes, & on their wordes, and oftentimes the marchant knoweth not to whom he giveth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the marchant sel his goods without the consent of the broker, yet neverthelesse he must pay him two per cento, and be in danger of his money: but this is very seldom seene, because the wife, children, and slaves of the debtor are bound to the creditor, and when his time is expired and paiment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and cary him home to his house, and shut him up in a Magasin, whereby presently he hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the wife, children, and slaves of the debtor, and sel them, for so is the lawe of that kingdome. *A lawe for Banckrupts.* The currant money that is in this city, and throughout all this kingdom is called Gansa or Ganza, which is made of Copper and leade: It is not the money of the king, but every man may stamp it that wil, because it hath his just partition or value: but they make many of them false, by putting overmuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. *Every man may stampe what money he wil.* With this money Ganza, you may buy golde or silver, Rubies and Muske, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongst them. And Golde, silver and

other marchandize are at one time dearer then another, as all other things be.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, & this name of Byza goeth for ye accompt of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our accompt) halfe a ducat, litle more or lesse: and albeit that Gold and silver is more or lesse in price, yet the Byza never changeth: every Byza maketh a hundreth Ganza of weight, and so the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Jewels, if he wil do well, it behoveth him to be a whole yere there to do his busi-

How a man may dispose himselfe for the trade in Pegu.

nesse. For if so be that he would return with the ship he came in, he cannot do any thing so conveniently for the brevitie of the time, because that when they custome their goods in Pegu that come from S. Tome in their ships, it is as it were about Christmas: and when they have customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Marchants that come from S. Tome take for the paiment of their goods, gold, and silver, which is never wanting

Good instructions.

there. And 8. or 10. dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may have Rubies in paiment, but they make no accompt of them: and they that will winter there for another yere, it is needfull that they be advertized, that in the sale of their goods, they specifie in their bargaine, the terme of two or 3. moneths paiment, & that their paiment shalbe in so many Ganza, and neither golde nor silver: because that with the Ganza they may buy & sel every thing with great advantage. And how needful is it to be advertized, when they wil recover their paiments, in what order they shal receive their Ganza? Because he that is not experienced may do himselfe great wrong in the weight of the Gansa, as also in the falsenesse of them: in the weight he may be greatly deceived, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any wil receive money or make paiment, he must take a publique

wayer of money, a day or two before he go about his businesse, and give him in paiment for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this he is bound to make good all your money, & to maintaine it for good, for that hee receiveth it and seales the bags with his seale: and when hee hath received any store, then hee causeth it to bee brought into the Magason of the Marchant, that is the owner of it.

That money is very weightie, for fourtie Byza is a strong Porters burden; and also where the Marchant hath any payment to be made for those goods which he buyeth, the Common wayer of money that receiveth his money must make the payment thereof. So that by this meanes, the Marchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth, receiveth and payeth out his money without losse or trouble. [II. i. 239.]

The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu.

The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphyres, Spinelles, great store of Benjamin, long peper, Leade, Lacca, rice, wine, some sugar, yet there might be great store of sugar made in the Countrey, for that they have aboundance of Canes, but they give them to Eliphants to eate, and the people consume great store of them for food, and many more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that kingdome they spend many of these Sugar canes in making of houses and tents which they call Varely for their idoles, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great aboundance, great and smal, and these houses are made in forme of little hilles, like to Sugar loaves or to Bells, and some of these houses are as high as a reasonable steeple, at the foote they are very large, some of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The saide houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with brickes and dirt in steade of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foote they make a covering for them with Sugar canes, and plaister it with lime all over, for otherwise they would bee spoyled, by the great aboundance of raine that falleth in those Countreys. Also they consume about these Varely or idol houses

Idol houses covered with gold.

great store of leafe-gold, for that they overlay all the tops of the houses with gold, and some of them are covered with golde from the top to the foote: in covering whereof there is great store of gold spent, for that every 10. yeeres they new overlay them with gold, from the top to the foote, so that with this vanitie they spend great aboundance of golde. For every 10. yeres the raine doeth consume the gold from these houses. And by this meanes they make golde dearer in Pegu then it would bee, if they consumed not so much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to bee noted in the buying of jewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge shall have as good jewels, and as good cheap, as he that hath bene practized there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wise. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or brokers of Jewels. These foure men have all the Jewels or Rubies in their handes, and the Marchant that wil buy commeth to one of these Tareghe and telleth him, that he hath so much money to imploy in Rubies. For through the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they have such quantitie, that they knowe not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and base prices. When the Marchant hath broken his mind to one of these brokers or Tareghe, they cary him home to one of their Shops, although he hath no knowledge in Jewels: and when the Jewellers perceive that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The use generally of this Citie is this; that when any Marchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carieth them home to his house, let them be of what value they will, he shall have space to looke on them and peruse them two or three dayes: and if he hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes have many Marchants in that Citie that have very good knowledge in Jewels; with whom he may alwayes conferre and take counsell, and may shew

Rubies exceeding cheape in Pegu.

them unto whom he will; and if he finde that hee hath not employed his money well, hee may returne his Jewels backe to them whom hee had them of, without any losse at all. Which thing is such a shame to the Tareghe to have his Jewels returne, that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it should be thought that he solde them so deere to have them returned. For these men have alwayes great care that they affoord good peniworths, especially to those that have no knowledge. This they doe, because they woulde not loose their credite: and when those Marchants that have knowledge in Jewels buy any, if they buy them deere, it is their own faults and not the brokers: yet it is good to have knowledge in Jewels, by reason that it may somewhat ease the price. There is also a very good order which they have in buying of Jewels, which is this; There are many Marchants that stand by at the making of the bargaine, and because they shall not understand howe the Jewels be solde, the Broker and the Marchants have their hands under a cloth, and by touching of fingers and nipping the joynts they know what is done, what is bidden, and what is asked. So that the standers by knowe not what is demaunded for them, although it be for a thousand or 10. thousand duckets. For every joynt and every finger hath his signification. For if the Marchants that stande by should understand the bargaine, it would breede great controversie amongst them. And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of August, in Anno 1569. having gotten well by my endevour, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of S. Tome, but then I should tary until March.

An honest care of heathen people.

Bargaines made with the nipping of fingers under a cloth.

In which journey I was counsailed, yea, and fully resolved to go by the way of Bengala, with a shippe there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chatigan a great harbour or port, from whence there goe smal ships to Cochin,

before the fleete depart for Portugall, in which ships I was fully determined to goe to Lisbon, and so to Venice. When I had thus resolved my selfe, I went a boord of the shippe of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon ye are to understand, that in the East Indies often times, there are not stormes as in other countreys; but every 10. or 12. yeeres there are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that have seene it, neither do they know certainly what yeere they wil come.

This Touffon is an extraordinary storme at Sea. [II. i. 240.]

The Touffon commeth but every 10. or 12. yeeres.

Unfortunate are they that are at sea in that yere and time of the Touffon, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yere it was our chance to be at sea with the like storme, but it happened well unto us, for that our ship was newly over-plancked, and had not any thing in her save victuall and balasts, Silver and golde, which from Pegu they cary to Bengala, and no other kinde of Marchandise. This Touffon or cruel storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it caried away our sailes, yards, and rudder; and because the shippe laboured in the Sea, wee cut our mast over boord: which when we had done she laboured a great deale more then before, in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came over the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a thirde place: and for all this storme, the shippe was so good, that shee tooke not one jot of water below through her sides, but all ran downe through the hatches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus driving too and fro as the winde and Sea would, we were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a sholde: yet when it was day, we could neither see land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased

the divine power, there came a great wave of the Sea, which drave us beyonde the should. And when wee felt the shippe aflote, we rose up as men revived, because the Sea was calme and smooth water, and then sounding we found twelve fadome water, and within a while after wee had but sixe fadome, and then presently we came to anker with a small anker that was left us at the sterne, for all our other were lost in the storme: and by and by the shippe strooke a ground, and then wee did prop her that she should not overthrow.

A manifest token of the ebbing and flowing in those Countreis.

When it was day the shippe was all dry, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This Touffon being ended, we discovered an Island not farre from us, and we went from the shippe on the sands to see what Island it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and, to my judgement, the fertilest Island in all the world, the which is divided into two parts by a chanell which passeth betweene it, & with great trouble we brought our ship into the same chanel, which parteth the Island at flowing water, and there we determined to stay 40. dayes to refresh us. And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were comming a land: presently they made a place of bazar or a market, with shops right over against the ship with all maner of provision of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapenesse thereof. I bought many salted kine there, for the provision of the ship, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be 12. shillings sixe pence, being very good and fat; and 4. wilde hogges ready dressed for a Larine; great fat hennes for a Bizze a piece, which is at the most a pennie: and the people told us that we were deceived the halfe of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humaine sustenance were there in such aboundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seene it.

This Island is called Sondiva.

Sondiva is the fruitfullest Countrey in al the world.

This Island is called Sondiva belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120. miles from Chatigan, to which place wee were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had bin a tyrant as others be, he might have robbed us of all, because the Portugall captaine of Chatigan was in armes against the Retor of that place, & every day there were some slaine, at which newes we rested there with no smal feare, keeping good watch and ward aboord every night as the use is, but the governour of the towne did comfort us, and bad us that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selves securely without any danger, although the Portugales of Chatigan had slaine the governour of that City, and said that we were not culpable in that fact: and moreover he did us every day what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrary to our expectations considering that they & the people of Chatigan were both subjects to one king. We departed from Sondiva, & came to Chatigan the great port of Bengala, at the same time when the Portugales had made peace and taken a truce with the governours of the towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugales with his ship should depart without any lading: for there were then at that time 18. ships of Portugales great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather then hee would seeke to hinder so many of his friends as were there, as also because the time of the yeere was spent to go to the Indies. The night before he departed, every ship that had any lading therein, put it aboord of the Captaine to helpe to ease his charge and to recompence his courtesies. In this time there came a messenger from the king of Rachim to this Portugal Captaine, who saide in the behalfe of his king, that hee had heard of the courage and valure of him, desiring him gently that he would vouchsafe to come with the ship into his port,

Chatigan is a port in Bengala, whither the Portugales go with their ships.

The King of Rachim, or Aracam, neighbour to Bengala.

[II. i. 241.]

and comming thither he should be very wel intreated. This Portugal went thither and was very well satisfied of this King.

This King of Rachim hath his seate in the middle coast betweene Bengala and Pegu, and the greatest enemie he hath is the king of Pegu: which king of Pegu deviseth night and day how to make this king of Rachim his subject, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: because the king of Pegu hath no power nor armie by Sea. And this king of *Rachim may arme two hundreth Galleyes or Fusts by Sea, and by land he hath certaine sluses with the which when the king of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the king of Pegu should come with his power to hurt him.

Or, Aracam.

The commodities that goe from Chatigan to the Indies.

From the great port of Chatigan they cary for the Indies great store of rice, very great quantitie of Bombast cloth of every sort, Suger, corne, and money, with other marchandize. And by reason of the warres in Chatigan, the Portugall ships taried there so long, that they arrived not at Cochin so soone as they were wont to doe other yeeres. For which cause the fleete that was at Cochin was departed for Portugal before they arrived there, and I being in one of the small shippes before the fleete, in discovering of Cochin, we also discovered the last shippe of the Fleete that went from Cochin to Portugall, where shee made saile, for which I was marveilously discomforted, because that all the yeere following, there was no going for Portugale, and when we arrived at Cochin I was fully determined to goe for Venice by the way of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was besieged by the people of Dialcan, but the Citizens forced not this assault, because they supposed that it would not continue long. For all this I embarked my selfe in a Galley that went for Goa, meaning there to shippe my selfe for Ormus: but when we came to Goa, the Viceroy

The Portngal ships depart toward Portugall out of the harbor of Cochin.

Goa was besieged.

would not suffer any Portugal to depart, by reason of the warres. And being in Goa but a small time, I fell sicke of an infirmitie that helde mee foure moneths: which with phisicke and diet cost me eight hundreth duckets, and there I was constrained to sell a smal quantitie of Rubies to sustaine my neede: and I solde that for five hundreth duckets, that was worth a thousand. And when I beganne to waxe well of my disease, I had but little of that money left, every thing was so scarse: For every chicken (and yet not good) cost mee seven or eight Livers, which is sixe shillings, or sixe shillings eight pence. Beside this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no small charge to me. At the ende of sixe moneths they raised the siege, and then I beganne to worke, for Jewels were risen in their prices: for, whereas before I sold a few of refused Rubies, I determined then to sell the rest of all my Jewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And for because that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great request, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round summe of money in Opium, and there I bought 60. percels of Opium, which cost me two thousand & a hundreth duckets, every ducket at foure shillings two pence. Moreover I bought three bales of Bombast cloth, which cost me eight hundred duckats, which was a good commoditie for Pegu: when I had bought these things, the Viceroy commanded that the custome of the Opium should be paide in Goa, and paying custome there I might cary it whither I would. I shipped my 3. bales of cloth at Chaul in a shippe that went for Cochin, and I went to Goa to pay the aforesaid custome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochin in a ship that was for the voyage of Pegu, and went to winter then at S. Tome. When I came to Cochin, I understood that the ship that had my three bales of cloth was cast away and lost, so that I lost my 800. Serafins or duckats: and departing from Cochin to goe for S. Tome, in casting about for

Opium a good commoditie in Pegu.

the Island of Zeilan the Pilote was deceived, for that the Cape of the Island of Zeilan lieth farre out into the sea, and the Pilot thinking that he might have passed hard aboord the Cape, and paying roomer in the night; when it was morning we were farre within the Cape, and past all remedy to go out, by reason the winds blew so fiercely against us. So that by this meanes we lost our voyage for that yere, and we went to Manar with the ship to winter there, the ship having lost her mastes, and with great diligence we hardly saved her, with great losses to the Captaine of the ship, because he was forced to fraight another ship in S. Tome for Pegu with great losses and interest, and I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to cary us to S. Tome; which thing we did with al the rest of the marchants; and ariving at S. Tome I had news through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu Opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to go for Pegu that yere, so that I was holden of al the marchants there to be very rich: and so it would have proved, if my adverse fortune had not bin contrary to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great ship from Cambaya, to the king of Assi, with great quantitie of Opium, & there to lade peper: in which voyage there came such a storme, that the ship was forced with wether to goe roomer 800. miles, and [II. i. 242.] by this meanes came to Pegu, whereas they arived a day before mee; so that Opium which was before very deare, was now at a base price: so that which was sold for fiftie Bizze before, was solde for 2. Bizze & an halfe, there was such quantitie came in that ship; so that I was glad to stay two yeres in Pegu unlesse I would have given away my commoditie: and at the end of two yeres of my 2100. duckets which I bestowed in Cambaya, I made but a thousand duckets. Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies and for Ormus with great quantitie of Lacca, and from Ormus I returned into the Indies for Chaul, and from Chaul to Cochin,

and from Cochin to Pegu. Once more I lost occasion to make me riche, for whereas I might have brought good store of Opium againe, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this small quantitie I made good profite. And now againe I determined to go for my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I tarried and wintered in Cochin, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

I thinke it very necessary before I ende my voyage, to reason somewhat, and to shewe what fruits the Indies do yeeld and bring forth. First, in the Indies and other East parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in some parts of the Indies, the greatest quantitie of peper groweth amongst wilde bushes, without any maner of labour: saving, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it.

Peper tree. The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our Ivie, which runneth up to the tops of trees wheresoever it groweth: and if it should not take holde of some tree, it would lie flat and rot on the ground. This peper tree hath his floure and berry like in all parts to our Ivie berry, and those berries be graines of peper: so that when they gather them they be greene, and then they lay them in the Sunne, and they become blacke.

Ginger. The Ginger groweth in this wise: the land is tilled and sowen, and the herbe is like to Panizzo, and the roote is the ginger. These two spices grow in divers places.

Cloves. The Cloves come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Islands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

Nutmegs and Maces. The Nutmegs and Maces, which grow both together, are brought from the Island of Banda, whose tree is like to our walnut tree, but not so big.

White Sandol. All the good white Sandol is brought from the Island of Timor. *Canfora.* Canfora being compound commeth all from China, and all that which groweth in canes commeth from Borneo, & I thinke that this Canfora commeth

not into these parts: for that in India they consume great store, and that is very deare. The good Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina. *Lignum Aloes.*

The Benjamin commeth from the kingdome of Assi and Sion. *Benjamin.*

Long peper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Java. *Long peper.*

Muske commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I have bene told. There is a certaine beast in Tartaria, which is wilde and as big as a wolfe, which beast they take alive, & beat him to death with small staves y^t his blood may be spread through his whole body, then they cut it in pieces, & take out all the bones, & beat the flesh with the blood in a morter very smal, and dry it, and make purses to put it in of the skin, and these be the cods of muske. *This Muske the Jewes doe counterfeit and take out halfe the good muske and beat the flesh of an asse and put in the roome of it.*

Truely I know not whereof the Amber is made, and there are divers opinions of it, but this is most certaine, it is cast out of the Sea, and throwne on land, and found upon the sea bankes.

The Rubies, Saphyres, and the Spinels be gotten in the kingdome of Pegu. The Diamants come from divers places; and I know but three sorts of them. That sort of Diamants that is called Chiappe, commeth from Bezeneger. Those that be pointed naturally come from the land of Delly, and from Java, but the Diamants of Java are more waightie then the other. I could never understand from whence they that are called Balassi come. *Rubies, Saphyres, and Spinels.*

The Balassi growe in Zeilan.

Pearles they fish in divers places, as before in this booke is showne.

From Cambaza commeth the Spodiom which congeleth in certaine canes, whereof I found many in Pegu, when I made my house there, because that (as I have said before) they make their houses there of woven canes like to mats. From Chaul they trade alongst the coast of Melinde in Ethiopia, within the land of Cafraria: on that coast are many good harbors kept by the Moores. *Spodiom. On the coast of Melynde in Ethiopia, in the land of Cafraria, the great trade that the Portugals have.*

Thither the Portugals bring a kinde of Bombast cloth of a low price, and great store of Paternosters or beads made of paltrie glasse, which they make in Chaul according to the use of the Countrey: and from thence they cary Elephants teeth for India, slaves called Cafari, and some Amber and Gold. On this coast the king of Portugall hath his castle called Mozambique, which is of as great importance as any castle that hee hath in all his Indies under his protection, and the Captaine of this castle hath certaine voyages to this Cafraria, to which places no Marchants may goe, but by the Agent of this Captaine: and they use to goe in small shippes, and trade with the Cafars, and their trade in buying and selling is without any speach one to the other. In this wise the Portugals bring their goods by litle and litle alongst the Sea coast, and lay them downe: and so depart, and the Cafar Marchants come and see the goods, & there they put downe as much gold as they thinke the goods are worth, and so goe their way and leave their golde and the goods together, then commeth the Portugal, and finding the golde to his content, hee taketh it and goeth his way into his ship, and then commeth the Cafar and taketh the goods and carieth them away: and if he finde the golde there still, it is a signe that the Portugals are not contented, and if the Cafar thinke he hath put too little, he addeth more, as he thinketh the thing is worth: and the Portugales must not stand with them too strickt; for if they doe, then they will have no more trade with them: For they disdaine to be refused, when they thinke that they have offered ynough, for they be a peevish people, and have dealt so of a long time: and by this trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and cary it to the Castle of Mozambique, which is in an Island not farre distant from the firme land of Cafraria on the coast of Ethiopia, and is distant from India 2800. miles. Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus, I found there Master Francis Berettin of Venice, and we

Buying and selling without words one to another. [II. i. 243.]

Golden trades that the Portugals have.

fraighted a bark together to goe for Basora for 70. duckets, and with us there went other Marchants, which did ease our fraight, and very commodiously wee came to Basora and there we stayed 40. dayes for providing a Carovan of barks to go to Babylon, because they use not to goe two or 3. barkes at once, but 25. or 30. because in the night they cannot go, but must make them fast to the banks of the river, and then we must make a very good & strong guard, and be wel provided of armor, for respect & safegard of our goods, because the number of theeves is great that come to spoile and rob the marchants. And when we depart for Babylon we goe a litle with our saile, and the voyage is 38. or 40. dayes long, but we were 50. dayes on it. When we came to Babylon we stayed there 4. moneths, until the Carovan was ready to go over the wildernes, or desert for Alepo; in this citie we were 6. Marchants that accompanied together, five Venetians and a Portugal; whose names were as followeth, Messer Florinasa with one of his kinsmen, Messer Andrea de Polo, the Portugal & M. Francis Berettin and I, and so wee furnished our selves with victuals and beanes for our horses for 40. dayes; and wee bought horses and mules, for that they bee very good cheape there, I my selfe bought a horse there for 11. akens, and solde him after in Alepo for 30. duckets. Also we bought a Tent which did us very great pleasure: we had also amongst us 32. Camels laden with marchandise: for the which we paid 2. duckets for every camels lading, and for every 10. camels they made 11, for so is their use and custome. We take also with us 3. men to serve us in the voyage, which are used to goe in those voyages for five D d. a man, and are bound to serve us to Alepo: so that we passed very well without any trouble: when the camels cried out to rest, our pavilion was the first that was erected. The Carovan maketh but small journeis about 20. miles a day, & they set forwards every morning before day two houres, and about two in the afternoone they sit downe.

An order how to provide to goe over the Desert from Babylon to Alepo.

We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: For which cause we never wanted water, but every day found good water, so that we could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we caried a camel laden alwayes with water for every good respect that might chance in the desert, so that wee had no want neither of one thing, nor other that was to bee had in the countrey. For wee came very well furnished of every thing, and every day we eat fresh mutton, because there came many shepheards with us with their flocks, who kept those sheepe that we bought in Babylon, and every marchant marked his sheepe with his owne marke, and we gave the shepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money, for the keeping and feeding our sheep on the way, and for killing of them. And beside the Medin they have the heads, the skinnes, and the intrals of every sheepe they kil. We sixe bought 20. sheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had 7. alive of them. And in the Carovan they use this order, that the marchants doe lende flesh one to another, because they will not cary raw flesh with them, but pleasure one another by lending one one day, and another another day.

36. Dayes journey over the wildernes.

From Babylon to Alepo is 40. dayes journey, of the which they make 36. dayes over the wildernes, in which 36. dayes they neither see house, trees, nor people that inhabite it, but onely a plaine, and no signe of any way in the world. The Pilots go before, and the Carovan followeth after. And when they sit downe all the Carovan unladeth and sitteth downe, for they know the stations where the wells are. I say, in 36. dayes we passe over the wildernesse. For when wee depart from Babylon two dayes we passe by villages inhabited until we have passed the river Euphrates. And then within two dayes of Alepo we have villages inhabited.

An order how to provide for the going to Jerusalem.

In this Carovan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Justice unto all men: and every night they keepe watch about the Carovan, and comming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Master Florin, and Master Andrea Polo,

and I, with a Frier, went and hired a barke to goe with us to Jerusalem. Departing from Tripolie, we arrived at Jaffa: from which place in a day and halfe we went to Jerusalem, and we gave order to our barke to tary for us untill our returne. Wee stayed in Jerusalem 14. dayes, to visite those holy places: from whence we returned to Jaffa, and from Jaffa to Tripolie, and there wee shipped our selves in a ship of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the divine power, we arrived safely in Venice the fift of November 1581. If there be any that hath any desire to goe into those partes of India, let him not be astonied at the troubles that I have passed: because I was intangled in many things: for that I went very poore from Venice with 1200. duckets imployed in marchandize, and when I came to Tripolie, I fell sicke in the house of Master Regaly Oratio, and this man sent away my goods with a small Carovan that went from Tripolie to Alepo, and the Carovan was robd, and all my goods lost saving foure chests of glasses which cost me 200. duckets, of which glasses I found many broken: because the theeves thinking it had bene other marchandize, brake them up, and seeing they were glasses they let them all alone. And with this onely stocke I adventured to goe into the Indies: And thus with change and rechange, and by diligence in my voyage, God did blesse and helpe mee, so that I got a good stocke. I will not be unmindfull to put them in remembrance, that have a desire to goe into those parts, how they shall keepe their goods, and give them to their heires at the time of their death, and howe this may be done very securely. In all the cities that the Portugales have in the Indies, there is a house called the schoole of Sancta misericordia comissaria: the governours whereof, if you give them for their paines, will take a coppy of your will and Testament, which you must alwayes cary about you; and chiefly when you go into the Indies. In the countrey of the Moores and Gentiles, in those voyages alwayes there

[II. i. 244.] *The author returneth to Venice* 1581.

A very good order that they have in those Countreys for the recovering of the goods of the dead.

goeth a Captaine to administer Justice to all Christians of the Portugales. Also this captaine hath authoritie to recover the goods of those Marchants that by chance die in those voyages, and they that have not made their Wills and registred them in the aforesaide schooles, the Captaines wil consume their goods in such wise, that litle or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Also there goeth in these same voyages some marchants that are commissaries of the schoole of Sancta misericordia, that if any Marchant die and have his Will made, and hath given order that the schoole of Misericordia shall have his goods and sell them, then they sende the money by exchange to the schoole of Misericordia in Lisbone, with that copie of his Testament, then from Lisbon they give intelligence thereof, into what part of Christendome soever it be, and the heires of such a one comming thither, with testimoniall that they be heires, they shall receive there the value of his goods: in such wise that they shall not loose any thing. But they that die in the kingdome of Pegu loose the thirde part of their goods by ancient custome of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the kingdome of Pegu, the king and his officers rest heires of a thirde of his goods, and there hath never bene any deceit or fraude used in this matter. I have knowen many rich men that have dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they have desired to go into their owne Countrey to die there, and have departed with al their goods and substance without let or trouble.

Order of apparel in Pegu.

In Pegu the fashion of their apparel is all one, as well the Noble man, as the simple: the onely difference is in the finenes of the cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wise: First, a white Bombast cloth which serveth for a shirt, then they gird another painted bombast cloth of foureteene brases, which they binde up betwixt their legges, and on their heads they weare a small tock of three braces, made in guize of a myter,

and some goe without tocks, and cary (as it were) a hive on their heades, which doeth not passe the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted up: they goe all bare footed, but the Noble men never goe on foote, but are caried by men in a seate with great reputation, with a hat made of the leaves of a tree to keepe him from the raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horsebacke with their feete bare in the stirops. All sorts of women whatsoever they be, weare a smocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foote they weare a cloth of three brases, open before; so straite that they cannot goe, but they must shewe their secret as it were aloft, and in their going they faine to hide it with their hand, but they cannot by reason of the straitnes of their cloth. They say that this use was invented by a Queene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might remove from men the vices against nature, which they are greatly given unto: which sight should cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe bare footed, their armes laden with hoopes of golde and Jewels: And their fingers full of precious rings, with their haire rolled up about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their shoulders in stead of a cloake.

The order of the womens apparel in Pegu.

Now to finish that which I have begunne to write, I say, that those parts of the Indies are very good, because that a man that hath litle, shall make a great deale thereof; alwayes they must governe themselves that they be taken for honest men. For why? to such there shal never want helpe to doe wel, but he that is vicious, let him tary at home and not go thither, because he shall alwayes be a begger, and die a poore man.

[Letters

[II. i. 245.] Letters concerning the voyage of M. John Newbery and M. Ralph Fitch, made by the way of the Levant Sea to Syria, and overland to Balsara, and thence into the East Indies, and beyond, In the yeere 1583.

A letter written from the Queenes Majestie, to Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaia, and sent by John Newbery. In February Anno 1583.

Lizabeth by the grace of God, &c. To the most invincible, and most mightie prince, lord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya. Invincible Emperor, &c. The great affection which our Subjects have, to visit the most distant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of marchandize of al nations whatsoever they can, by which meanes the mutual and friendly trafique of marchandize on both sides may come, is the cause that the bearer of this letter John Newbery, joyntly with those that be in his company, with a curteous and honest boldnesse, doe repaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperial Majestie through your royal grace, will favourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our sake, to make us greatly beholding to your Majestie; wee should more earnestly, and with more wordes require it, if wee did think it needful. But by the singular report that is of your imperial Majesties humanitie in these uttermost parts of the world, we are greatly eased of that burden, and therefore we use the fewer and lesse words: onely we request that because they are our subjects, they may be honestly intreated and received. And that in respect of the hard journey which they have undertaken to places so far distant, it would please your Majestie with

some libertie and securitie of voiage to gratifie it, with such privileges as to you shall seeme good: which curtesie if your Imperiall majestie shal to our subjects at our requests performe, wee, according to our royall honour, wil recompence the same with as many deserts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Majestie to farewel.

A letter written by her Majestie to the King of China, in Februarie 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. Most Imperial and invincible prince, our honest subject John Newbery the bringer hereof, who with our favour hath taken in hand the voyage which nowe hee pursueth to the parts and countreys of your Empire, not trusting upon any other ground then upon the favour of your Imperiall clemencie and humanitie, is mooved to undertake a thing of so much difficultie, being perswaded that hee having entred into so many perils, your Majestie will not dislike the same, especially, if it may appeare that it be not damageable unto your royall Majestie, and that to your people it will bring some profite: of both which things he not doubting, with more willing minde hath prepared himselfe for his destinated voyage unto us well liked of. For by this meanes we perceive, that the profit which by the mutual trade on both sides, al the princes our neighbors in ye West do receive, your Imperial majestie & those that be subject under your dominion, to their great joy and benefit shal have the same, which consisteth in the transporting outward of such things whereof we have plenty, & in bringing in such things as we stand in need of. It cannot otherwise be, but that seeing we are borne and made to have need one of another, & that wee are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial Majestie wil wel like of it, & by your subjects w^t^ like indevor wil be accepted. For the increase whereof, if your imperial Majestie shall

adde the securitie of passage, with other privileges most necessary to use the trade with your men, your majestie shall doe that which belongeth to a most honorable & liberal prince, and deserve so much of us, as by no continuance or length of time shalbe forgotten. Which request of ours we do most instantly desire to be taken in good part of your majestie, and so great a benefit towards us & our men, we shall endevor by diligence to requite when time shal serve thereunto. The God Almighty long preserve your Imperial majestie.

A letter of M. John Newbery, written from Alepo, to M. Richard Hakluit of Oxford, the 28. of May, Anno 1583.

RIght welbeloved, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Gravesend, which was the 13. day of February last, wee remained upon our coast untill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and never ankered till wee arrived in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill last past, where wee [II. i. 246.] stayed 14. dayes: and the twentie of this present we came hither to Alepo, and with Gods helpe, within five or sixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I have made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I wil send it you from thence. The letter which you delivered me for to copy out, that came from M. Thomas Stevens in Goa, as also the note you gave mee of Francis Fernandes the Portugal, I brought thence with me among other writings unawares, the which I have sent you here inclosed. Here is great preparation for the warres in

Abilfada Ismael his Cosmographie.

Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassa of a towne called Rahemet, and shortly after goeth the Bassa of Tripolis, and the Bassa of Damasco, but they have not all with them above 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Asmerome, which is three dayes journey from Trapezunde, where they shal meete with divers captaines and souldiers that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there every yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to master Peter Guillame, and master Philip Jones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends. Master Fitch hath him heartily commended unto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie, who blesse and keepe you, and send us a joyfull meeting. From Alepo, the 28. of May 1583.

Your loving friend to command in all that I may.

John Newberie.

Another letter of the said M. Newberie, written to Master Leonard Poore of London, from Alepo.

RIght welbeloved, my very heartie commendations unto you, and the rest of my friends remembred. My last I sent you was the 25. of February last, from Dele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes wee remained upon our owne coast, untill the 11. day of March, and then wee set saile from *March* 11. Falmouth, and the thirteenth day the winde came contrary with a very great storme, which continued eight dayes, and in this great storme wee had some of our goods wette, but God bee thanked no great hurt done. After which time we sailed with a faire wind within the Streights, and so remained at Sea, and ankered at no

The last of April.

place until our comming into the roade of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of April. This was a very good passage. God make us thankfull for it. The foureteenth day of this present wee came from Tripolis, and the twentieth day arrived here in Alepo, and with the helpe of God to morrowe or next day, wee beginne our voyage towards Babylon and Balsara, and so into India. Our friend Master Barret hath him commended to you, who hath sent you in the Emanuel a ball of Nutmegs for the small trifles you sent him, which I hope long since you have received. Also hee hath by his letter certified you in what order hee solde those things, whereof I can say nothing, because I have not seene the accompt thereof, neither have demaunded it: for ever since our comming hither hee hath bene still busie about the dispatch of the shippe, and our voyage, and I likewise in buying of things here to cary to Balsara, and the Indies. Wee have bought in currall for 1200. and odde ducats, and amber for foure hundreth ducates, and some sope and broken glasse, with all other small trifles, all which things I hope will serve very wel for those places that wee shall goe unto. All the rest of the accompt of the Barke Reinolds was sent home in the Emanuel, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For master Staper rated it but 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, so that our part is 200. pound. Besides such profit as it shall please God to sende thereof: wherefore you shall doe very well to speake to M. Staper for the accompt. And if you would content your selfe to travell for three or foure yeeres, I would wish you to come hither or goe to Cairo, if any goe thither. For wee doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure moneths, you would like so well of the place, that I thinke you would not desire to returne againe in three or foure yeeres. And, if it should be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would choose this before all other that I know. My reason is, the place is healthfull and

Currall.
Amber greese.
Sope.
Broken glasse.

pleasant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit will bee hereafter better, things being used in good order: for there should come in every ship the fourth part of her Cargason in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Also to have two very good ships to come together, would doe very well: for in so doing, the danger of the voyage might be accompted as little as from London to Antwerpe. Master Giles Porter and master Edmund Porter, went [II. i. 247.] from Tripolis in a small barke to Jaffa, the same day that we came from thence, which was the 14 day of this present, so that no doubt but long since they are in Jerusalem: God send them and us safe returne. At this instant I have received the account of M. Barret, and the rest of the rings, with two and twentie duckats, two medines in readie money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Bostocke I left certaine small trifles, which I pray you demaund. And so once againe with my hearty commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwayes preserve us. From Aleppo the 29 of May 1583.

Yours assured, John Newberie.

Another letter of Master Newberie to the aforesaide M.. Poore, written from Babylon.

MY last I sent you, was the 29 of May last past from Aleppo, by George Gill the purser of the Tiger, which the last day of the same moneth came from thence, & arrived at Feluge the 19 day of June, which Feluge is one dayes journey from hence. Notwithstanding some of our company came not hither till the last day of the last moneth, which was for want of Camels to cary our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reason of the great heate that is here, Camels are very scant to be gotten. And since our comming hither we have

found very small sales, but divers say that in the winter our commodities will be very well sold, I pray God their words may proove true. I thinke cloth, kersies & tinne, have never bene here at so low prices as they are now. Notwithstanding, if I had here so much readie money as the commodities are woorth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balsara, and so by Gods helpe there will be reasonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money & halfe commoditie, may be bought here the best sort of spices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, and without money there is here at this instant small good to be done. With Gods helpe two dayes hence, I minde to goe from hence to Balsara, and from thence of force I must goe to Ormus for want of a man that speaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Nazaranies, and one of them hath bene twise in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewde fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

The best sort of spices at Babylon.

Balsara.

Ormus.

Here follow the prices of wares as they are worth here at this instant.

The prices of spices at Babylon.

CLoves and Maces, the bateman, 5 duckats.

Cynamom 6 duckats, and few to be gotten.

Nutmegs, the bateman, 45 medins, and 40 medins maketh a duckat.

Ginger 40 medins.

Pepper, 75 medins.

Turbetta, the bateman, 50 medins.

Neel the churle, 70 duckats, and a churle is 27 rottils and a halfe of Aleppo.

Silke, much better then that which commeth from Persia, 11 duckats and a halfe the bateman, and every bateman here maketh 7 pound and 5 ounces English waight. From Babylon the 20 day of July, 1583.

Yours, John Newberie.

Master Newberie his letter from Ormus, to M. John Eldred and William Shals at Balsara.

RIght welbeloved and my assured good friends, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed from you, time wil not permit: but the 4 of this present we arrived here, & the 10 day I with the rest were committed to prison, and about the middle of the next moneth, the Captaine wil send us all in his ship for Goa. The cause why we are taken, as they say, is, for that I brought letters from Don Antonio. But the trueth is, Michael Stropene was the onely cause, upon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we shall be delt withall in Goa, and therfore if you can procure our masters to send the king of Spaine his letters for our releasement, you should doe us great good: for they cannot with justice put us to death. It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe us long in prison: Gods will be done. All those commodities that I brought hither, had beene very well sold, if this trouble had not chanced. You shall do well to send with all speed a messenger by land from Balsara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this mischance, although it cost thirtie or forty crownes, for that we may be the sooner released, and I shalbe the better able to recover this againe which is now like to be lost: I pray you make my hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 21 of September, 1583. [II. i. 248.]

[His second

His second Letter to the foresaid Master John Eldred and William Shales.

THe barke of the Jewes is arrived here two daies past, by whom I know you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath shewed me here very great courtesie, wherfore I pray you shew him what favor you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke we shall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, wherein I pray you further him what you may: but if he should not goe, then I pray you dispatch away a messenger with as much speede as possible you may. I can say no more, but do for me as you would I should do for you in the like cause, and so with my very hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 24 day of September, 1583.

Yours, John Newberie.

His third Letter to Maister Leonard Poore, written from Goa.

Michael Stropene an Italian accused our men to be spies.

MY last I sent you was from Ormuz, wherby I certified you what had happened there unto me, and the rest of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arrivall there, we were all committed to prison, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captaine never examined, onely demaunded what countryman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accused us, had informed the Captaine of him. The first day we arrived there, this Stropene accused us that we were spies sent from Don Antonio, besides divers other lies: notwithstanding

if we had beene of any other countrey then of England, we might freely have traded with them. And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almains, Hungarians, Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Nazaranies, Turkes and Moores, Jewes & Gentiles, Persians, Moscovites, and there is no nation that they seeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all justice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid us. But now I have as great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out of the countrey, which thing as yet I desire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirous to go from hence, that they wil not deny me licence. Before we might be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to put in suerties for 2000 pardaus, not to depart from hence without licence of the viceroy: otherwise except this, we have as much libertie as any other nation, for I have our goods againe, & have taken an house in the chiefest streete in the towne, called the Rue drette, where we sell our goods.

Two causes of our mens imprisonment at Ormus.

There were two causes which moved the captaine of Ormus to imprison us, & afterwards to send us hither. The first was, because Michael Stropene had accused us of many matters, which were most false. And the second was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, caused two pieces of his ordinance to be shot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they say. But of these things I did not know at Ormus: and in the ship that we were sent in came the chiefest justice in Ormus, who was called Aveador generall of that place, he had beene there three yeeres, so that now his time was expired: which Aveador is a great friend to the captaine of Ormus, who, certaine dayes after our comming from thence, sent for mee into his chamber, and

there beganne to demaund of me many things, to the which I answered: and amongst the rest, he said, that Master Drake was sent out of England with many ships, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloves, and finding a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee caused two pieces of his greatest ordinance to be shot at the same: and so perceiving that this did greatly grieve them, I asked, if they would be revenged of me for that which M. Drake had done? To the which he answered, No: although his meaning was to the contrary.

[II. i. 249.] He said moreover, that the cause why the captaine of Ormus did send me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would understand of mee, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the best that I was sent hither, the which I trust in God wil so fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleased God to put into the minds of the archbishop and other two Padres or Jesuits of S. Pauls colledge to stand our friends, we might have rotted in prison. The archbishop is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his servantes, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was borne at Enchuysen, whose name is John Linscot, who did us great pleasure: for by them the archbishop was many times put in minde of us. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who travelled very much for us, the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wiltshire in England, and is called ‖ Padre Thomas Stevens.

The author of the book of the East Indies.

‖ This is he whose letters to his father from Goa are before put downe, and he was sometimes of New colledge in Oxford.

Also I chanced to finde here a young man, who was borne in Antwerpe, but the most part of his bringing up hath beene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who also hath done me great pleasure here.

In the prison at Ormus we remained many dayes,

also we lay a long time at sea comming hither, and forthwith at our arrivall here were caried to prison, and the next day after were sent for before the Aveador, who is the chiefest justice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he presently sent us backe againe to prison.

James Storie their painter.

And after our being here in prison 13 daies, James Storie went into the monastery of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the company, which life he liketh very well.

They arrived at Goa the 20 of November 1583.

And upon S. Thomas day (which was 22 dayes after our arrivall here) I came out of prison, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets.

If these troubles had not chanced, I had beene in possibility to have made as good a voyage as ever any man made with so much money. Many of our things I have solde very well, both here and at Ormus in prison, notwithstanding the captaine willed me (if I would) to sell what I could before we imbarked: & so with officers I went divers times out of the castle in the morning, and solde things, and at night returned againe to the prison, and all things that I solde they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the captain gave order that I should deliver all my mony with the goods into the hands of the scrivano, or purser of the ship, which I did, and the scrivano made a remembrance, which he left there with the captaine, that my selfe and the rest with money & goods he should deliver into the hands of the Aveador generall of India: but at our arrivall here, the Aveador would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not prove any thing against us: wherefore the goods remained in the ship 9 or 10 daies after our arrivall, and then, for that the ship was to saile from thence, the scrivano sent the goods on shore, and here they remained a day and a night, and no body to receive them. In the end they suffered this bringer to receive them, who came with me from Ormus, and put them into an house

which he had hired for me, where they remained foure or five daies. But afterward when they should deliver the money, it was concluded by the justice, that both the money and goods should be delivered into the positors hands, where they remained fourteene dayes after my comming out of prison. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of silver and gilt, sixe knives, sixe spoones, and one forke trimmed with corall for five and twentie chekins, which the captaine of Ormus did take, and payed for the same twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larines, and was worth there or here one hundred chekins. Also he had five emrauds set in golde, which were woorth five hundred or sixe hundred crownes, and payed for the same an hundred pardaos. Also he had nineteene and a halfe pikes of cloth, which cost in London twenty shillings the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crownes the pike, and he payed for the same twelve larines a pike. Also he had two pieces of greene Kersies, which were worth foure and twentie pardaos the piece, and payd for them sixteene pardaos a piece: besides divers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and some for nothing at all. But the cause of all this was Michael Stropene, which came to Ormus not woorth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thousand crownes, and he grieveth that any other stranger should trade thither but himselfe. But that shall not skill, for I trust in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and sell as freely as he or any other. Here is very great good to be done in divers of our commodities, and in like manner there is great profite to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that have passed since my parting from you. But of all the troubles that have chanced since mine arrivall in Ormus, this bringer is able to certifie you. I mind to stay here: wherefore if you will write

unto me, you may send your letters to some friend at Lisbone, & from thence by the ships they may be conveyed hither. Let the direction of your letters be either [II. i. 250.] in Portuguise or Spanish, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Januarie. 1584.

A Letter written from Goa by Master Ralph Fitch to Master Leonard Poore abovesaid.

LOving friend Master Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I have not written unto you any letters, by reason that at Babylon I was sicke of the fluxe, and being sicke, I went from thence for Balsara, which was twelve dayes journey downe the river Tygris, where we had extreame hot weather, which was good for my disease, ill fare, and worse lodging, by reason our boat was pestered with people. In eight daies, that which I did eate was very small, so that if we had stayed two dayes longer upon the water, I thinke I had died: but comming to Balsara, presently I mended, I thanke God. There we stayed 14 dayes, and then we imbarked our selves for Ormuz, where we arrived the fifth of September, and were put in prison the ninth of the same moneth, where we continued untill the 11 of October, and then were shipt for this citie of Goa in the captaines ship, with an 114 horses, and about 200 men: and passing by Diu & Chaul, where we went on land to water the 20 of November, we arrived at Goa the 29 of the said moneth, where for our better intertainment we were presently put into a faire strong prison, where we continued untill the 22 of December. It was the will of God that we found there 2 Padres, the one an Englishman, the other a Flemming. The Englishmans name is Padre Thomas Stevens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. These did sue for us unto the Viceroy and other officers, and stood us in as much

Diu.
Chaul.

stead, as our lives and goods were woorth: for if they had not stucke to us, if we had escaped with our lives, yet we had had long imprisonment.

After 14 dayes imprisonment they offered us, if we could put in suerties for 2000 duckats, we should goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the said Padres found suerties for us, that we should not depart the countrey without the licence of the Viceroy. It doth spite the Italians to see us abroad: and many marvell at our delivery. The painter is in the cloister of S. Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there very well. While we were in prison, both at Ormuz and here, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and lost, and we have beene at great charges in gifts and otherwise, so that a great deale of our goods is consumed. There is much of our things which wil sell very well, & some we shall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Viceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they say, to winne a castle of the Moores, whose returne is thought will be about Easter, then we shall get our libertie, and our suerties discharged. Then I thinke it wil be our best way, either one or both to returne, because our troubles have bene so great, & so much of our goods spoyled and lost. But if it please God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a brave and pleasant countrey, and very fruitfull. The summer is almost all the yeere long, but the chiefest at Christmas.

The Italians our great enemies for the trade in the East.

The day and the night are all of one length, very litle difference, and marveilous great store of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victuals are here plentie and good cheape. And here I will passe over to certifie you of strange things, untill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who ever preserve you and us all. From Goa in the East Indies the 25 of Januarie 1584.

Yours to command, Ralph Fitch.

The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty river Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Imahay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherein the strange rites, maners, and customes of those people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of those countries are faithfully set downe and diligently described, by the aforesaid M. Ralph Fitch.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, in the company of M. John Newberie marchant (which had beene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Jeweller, and James Story Painter, being chiefly set [II. i. 251.] foorth by the right worshipfull Sir Edward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did ship my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: & from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in seven dayes with the Carovan. Being in Aleppo, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and an halfe travaile with Camels.

Birra is a little towne, but very plentifull of victuals: *Birra.* and neere to the wall of the towne runneth the river of Euphrates. Here we bought a boate and agreed with a master and bargemen, for to go to Babylon. These boats be but for one voiage; for the streame doth runne

so fast downewardes that they cannot returne. They carie you to a towne which they call Felugia, and there you sell the boate for a litle money, for that which cost you fiftie at Birra you sell there for seven or eight. From Birra to Felugia is sixteene dayes journey, it is not good that one boate goe alone, for if it should chance to breake, you should have much a doe to save your goods from the Arabians, which be alwayes there abouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that bee theeves, will come swimming and steale your goods and flee away, against which a gunne is very good, for they doe feare it very much. In the river of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia there be certaine places where you pay custome, so many Medines for a some or Camels lading, and certaine raysons and sope, which is for the sonnes of Aborise, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that great desert, and hath some villages upon the river. Felugia where you unlade your goods which come from Birra is a little village: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Felugia.

Babylon. Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of strangers, for that it is the way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carovans for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the river of Tygris. They are brought upon raftes made of goates skinnes blowne full of winde and bordes layde upon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Babylon, which being discharged they open their skinnes, and carry them backe by Camels, to serve another time. Babylon in times past did belong to the kingdome of Persia, but nowe is subject to the Turke. Over against Babylon there is a very faire village from whence you passe to Babylon upon a long bridge made of boats, and tyed to a great chaine of yron, which is made fast on either side of the river. When any boates are to passe up or downe the river,

they take away certaine of the boates untill they be past.

The tower of Babel.

The Tower of Babel is built on this side the river Tygris, towardes Arabia from the towne about seven or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a litle mountaine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of brickes dried in the sonne, and certaine canes and leaves of the palme tree layed betwixt the brickes. There is no entrance to be seene to goe into it. It doth stand upon a great plaine betwixt the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris.

Boyling pitch continually issuing out of the earth.

By the river Euphrates two dayes journey from Babylon at a place called Ait, in a fielde neere unto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throwe foorth against the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy smoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great fielde which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great quantitie of it, the men of that countrey doe pitch their boates two or three inches thicke on the out side, so that no water doth enter into them. Their boates be called Danec. When there is great store of water in Tygris you may goe from Babylon to Basora in 8 or 9 dayes: if there be small store it will cost you the more dayes.

Basora in times past was under the Arabians, but now is subject to the Turke. But some of them the Turke cannot subdue, for that they holde certaine Ilandes in the river Euphrates which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be theeves all and have no setled dwelling, but remove from place to place with their Camels, goates, and horses, wives and children and all. They have large blew gownes, their wives eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of copper and silver, and they weare rings of copper about their legs.

Basora standeth neere the gulfe of Persia, and is a towne of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of wheate, ryce,

and dates growing thereabout, wherewith they serve Babylon and all the countrey, Ormus, and all the partes of India. I went from Basora to Ormus downe the gulfe of Persia in a certaine shippe made of boordes, and sowed together with cayro, which is threede made of the huske of Cocoes, and certaine canes or strawe leaves sowed upon the seames of the bordes which is the cause that they leake very much. And so having Persia alwayes on the left hande, and the coast of Arabia on the right hande we passed many Ilandes, and among others the famous [II. i. 252.] Ilande Baharim from whence come the best pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormus. Ormus is an Island in circuit about five and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the driest Island in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely salt; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary come out of Persia, which is about twelve miles from thence. All the Ilands thereabout be very fruitfull, from whence all kinde of victuals are sent unto Ormus. The Portugales have a castle here which standeth neere unto the sea, wherein there is a Captaine for the king of Portugale having under him a convenient number of souldiers, wherof some part remaine in the castle, and some in the towne. In this towne are marchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sortes of spices, drugs, silke, cloth of silke, fine tapestrie of Persia, great store of pearles which come from the Isle of Baharim, and are the best pearles of all others, and many horses of Persia, which serve all India. They have a Moore to their king, which is chosen and governed by the Portugales. Their women are very strangely attyred, wearing on their noses, eares, neckes, armes and legges many rings set with jewels, and lockes of silver and golde in their eares, and a long barre of golde upon the side of their noses. Their eares with the weight of their jewels be worne so wide, that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them. Here very shortly after our arrivall wee were put in prison, and had part of our goods taken

from us by the Captaine of the castle, whose name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleventh of October he shipped us and sent us for Goa unto the Viceroy, which at that time was Don Francisco de Mascarenhas. The shippe wherein we were imbarked for Goa belonged to the Captaine, and carried one hundred twentie and foure horses in it. All marchandise carried to Goa in a shippe wherein are horses pay no custome in Goa. The horses pay custome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The first citie of India that we arrived at upon the fift of November, after we had passed the coast of Zindi, is called Diu, which standeth in an Iland in the kingdome *Diu.* of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales have in those partes. It is but litle, but well stored with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diverse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they have a passeport from the Portugales. Cambaietta is the chiefe citie of that province, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a towne of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will sell their children for very little. The last king of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, which was killed at the siege of Diu, and shortly after his citie was taken by the great Mogor, which is the king of Agra and of Delli, which are fortie dayes journey from the country of Cambaia. Here the women weare upon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elephants teeth, wherein they take so much delight, that they had rather be without their meate then without their bracelets. Going from Diu we come to Daman the second towne of the Portugales in the countrey *Daman.* of Cambaia which is distant from Diu fortie leagues. Here is no trade but of corne and rice. They have many villages under them which they quietly possesse in time of peace, but in time of warre the enemie is maister of

Basaim. *Tana.* *Chaul.*

them. From thence we passed by Basaim, and from Basaim to Tana, at both which places is small trade but only of corne and rice. The tenth of November we arrived at Chaul which standeth in the firme land. There be two townes, the one belonging to the Portugales, and the other to the Moores. That of the Portugales is neerest to the sea, and commaundeth the bay, and is walled round about. A little above that is the towne of the Moores which is governed by a Moore king called Xa-Maluco. Here is great traffike for all sortes of spices and drugges, silke, and cloth of silke, sandales, Elephants teeth, and much China worke, and much sugar which is made of the nutte called Gagara: the tree is called the palmer: which is the profitablest tree in the worlde: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld wine, oyle, sugar, vineger, cordes, coles, of the leaves are made thatch for the houses, sayles for shippes, mats to sit or lie on: of the branches they make their houses, and broomes to sweepe, of the tree wood for shippes. The wine doeth issue out of the toppe of the tree. They cut a branch of a bowe and binde it hard, and hange an earthen pot upon it, which they emptie every morning and every evening, and still it and put in certaine dried raysins, and it becommeth very strong wine in short time. Hither many shippes come from all partes of India, Ormus, and many from Mecca: heere be manie Moores and Gentiles. They have a very strange order among them, they worshippe a cowe, and esteeme much of the cowes doung to paint the walles of their houses. They will kill nothing not so much as a louse: for they holde it a sinne to kill any thing. They eate no flesh, but live by rootes, and ryce, and milke. And when the husbande dieth his wife is burned with him, if shee be alive: if shee will not, her [II. i. 253.] head is shaven, and then is never any account made of her after. They say if they should be buried, it were a great sinne, for of their bodies there would come many wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were consumed, those wormes would lacke sustenance, which

were a sinne, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor have any thing killed: in the towne they have hospitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will give meat to the Ants.

Goa.

Goa is the most principal citie which the Portugals have in India, wherin the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It standeth in an Iland, which may be 25. or 30. miles about. It is a fine citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Iland is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath some villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the Fleete which commeth every yeere from Portugal, which be foure, five, or sixe great shippes, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their Pepper for Portugall. Oftentimes they lade one in Goa, the rest goe to Cochin which is from Goa an hundred leagues southward. Goa standeth in the countrey of Hidalcan, who lieth in the countrey sixe or seven dayes journey. His chiefe citie is called Bisapor. At our comming we were cast into the prison, and examined before the Justice and demanded for letters, and were charged to be spies, but they could proove nothing by us. We continued in prison untill the two and twentie of December, and then we were set at libertie, putting in sureties for two thousand duckats not to depart the towne; which sureties father Stevens an English Jesuite which we found there, & another religious man a friend of his procured for us. Our sureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid 2150. duckats, and still he demaunded more: whereupon we made sute to the Viceroy and Justice to have our money againe, considering that they had had it in their hands neere five moneths and could proove nothing against us. The Viceroy made us a very sharpe answere, and sayd we should be better sifted before it were long, and that they had further matter against us. Whereupon we presently determined rather to seeke our liberties, then

This was the 20. of November.

to bee in danger for ever to be slaves in the country, for it was told us we should have ye strapado. Wherupon presently, the fift day of April 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being set over the river, we went two dayes on foote not without feare, not knowing the way nor having any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first townes which we came unto, is called Bellergan, where there is a great market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other soft stones.

Bellergan a towne.

Bisapor. From Bellergan we went to Bisapor which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court and they bee great idolaters. And they have their idols standing in the Woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a Cowe, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some like peacockes, and some like the devill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they have good store of gold and silver: their houses are of stone very faire and high.

Gulconda. From hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de lashach. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalcan, and in the countrey of the king of Decan bee the Diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleasant, with faire houses of bricke and timber, it aboundeth with great store of fruites and fresh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles without any more apparell. We found it here very hote.

The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In

Masulipatan. these partes is a porte or haven called Masulipatan, which standeth eight dayes journey from hence toward the gulfe of Bengala, whether come many shippes out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, spices, and other commodities. The countrie is very

Servidore. good and fruitfull. From thence I went to Servidore which is a fine countrey, and the king is called, the king of Bread. The houses here bee all thatched and made of lome. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, but there is small religion among them. From thence I went to

Bellapore, and so to Barrampore, which is in the country of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of silver round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good silver. It is marveilous great and a populous countrey. In their winter which is in June, July, and August, there is no passing in the streetes but with horses, the waters be so high. The houses are made of lome and thatched. Here is great store of cotton cloth made, and painted clothes of cotton wooll: here groweth great store of corne and Rice. We found mariages great store both in townes and villages in many places where wee passed, of boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and girles of five or six yeeres old. They both do ride upon one horse very trimly decked, and are caried through the towne with great piping and playing, and so returne home and eate of a banket made of Rice and fruits, and there they daunce the most part of the night and so make an ende of the marriage. They lie not together untill they be ten yeeres old. They say they marry their children so yoong, because it is an order that when the man dieth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the father die, yet they may have a father in lawe to helpe to bring up the children which bee maried: and also that they will not leave their sonnes without wives, nor their daughters without husbands. From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very strong towne. It was besieged twelve yeeres by Zelabdim Echebar before hee could winne it. It standeth upon a very great high rocke as the most part of their castles doe, and was of a very great circuite. From hence wee went to Ugini and Serringe, where wee overtooke the ambassadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a marveilous great company of men, elephants, and camels. Here is great trade of cotton and cloth made of cotton, and great store of drugs. From thence we went to Agra passing many rivers, which by reason of the raine were so swollen, that wee waded and swamme oftentimes for our lives. Agra is a very

Bellapore.

Strange mariages.

[II. i. 254.]

Mandoway a very strong town.

Ugini.

Agra a great citie.

great citie and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streetes, with a faire river running by it, which falleth into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire castle and a strong with a very faire ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim Echebar: the people for the most part call him The great Mogor. From thence we went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater then Agra, but the houses and streetes be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1000. elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1400. tame Deere, 800. concubines: such store of Ounces, Tigers, Buffles, Cocks & Haukes, that is very strange to see. He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater then London and very populous. Betweene Agra and Fatepore are 12. miles, and all the way is a market of victuals & other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market. They have many fine cartes, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheeles which be drawen with two litle Buls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horse, and carie two or three men in one of these cartes: they are covered with silke or very fine cloth, and be used here as our Coches be in England. Hither is great resort of marchants from Persia and out of India, and very much marchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a litle cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yealow. None come into his house but his eunuches which keepe his women. Here in Fatepore we staied all three untill the 28. of September 1585. and then master John Newberie tooke his journey toward the citie of Lahor, determining from

The great Mogor.

The like is reported of the cities of China.

thence to goe for Persia and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, whether hee could get soonest passage unto, and directed me to goe for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promise me, if it pleased God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeeres with a shippe out of England. I left William Leades the jeweller in service with the king Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well, and gave him an house and five slaves, an horse, and every day sixe S. S. in money. I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and fourescore boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and divers other commodities downe the river Jemena. The chiefe marchants are Moores and Gentiles. In these countries they have many strange ceremonies. The Bramanes which are their priests, come to the water and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade up water with both their hands, and turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be never so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water or in warme. These Gentiles will eate no flesh nor kill any thing. They live with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat & eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turne themselves about 30. or 40. times, and use to heave up their hands to the sunne, & to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Every time they lie downe, they make a score on the ground with their finger to know when their stint is finished. The Bramanes marke themselves in the foreheads, eares and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, & every morning they do it. And they have some old men which go in the streetes with a boxe of yellow pouder, and marke men on their heads & necks as they meet them. And their wives do come by 10. 20. & 30. together to the water side singing, & there

Wil. Leades served the king of Cambaia.

The superstitious ceremonies of the Bramanes.

do wash themselves, & then use their ceremonies, & marke themselves in their foreheds and faces, and cary some with them, and so depart singing. Their daughters be maried, at, or before the age of 10. yeres. The men may have 7. wives. They be a kind of craftie people, worse then the Jewes. When they salute one another, they heave up their hands to their heads, and say Rame, Rame. From Agra I came to Prage, where the river *Ganges.* Jemena entreth into the mightie river Ganges, and Jemena looseth his name. Ganges commeth out of the [II. i. 255.] Northwest, & runneth East into the gulfe of Bengala. In those parts there are many Tigers and many partriges & turtle-doves, and much other foule. Here be many beggers in these countries which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Schesche. Here I sawe one which was a monster among the rest. He would have nothing upon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head he covered his privities. The nailes of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speake. He was accompanied with eight or tenne, and they spake for him. When any man spake to him, he would lay his hand upon his brest and bowe himselfe, but would not speake. Hee would not speake to the king. We went from Prage downe Ganges, the which is here very broad. Here is great store of fish of sundry sorts, & of wild foule, as of swannes, geese, cranes, and many other things. The countrey is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the most part have their faces shaven, and their heads very long, except some which bee all shaven save the crowne: and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads, and shave them round, all but the crowne. In this river of Ganges are many Ilands. His water is very sweete and pleasant, and the countrey adjoyning *Bannaras.* very fruitfull. From thence wee went to Bannaras which is a great towne, and great store of cloth is made there of cotton, and Shashes for the Moores. In this place

they be all Gentiles, and be the greatest idolaters that ever I sawe. To this towne come the Gentiles on pilgrimage out of farre countreys. Here alongst the waters side bee very many faire houses, and in all of them, or for the most part they have their images standing, which be evill favoured, made of stone and wood, some like lions, leopards, and monkeis, some like men & women, and pecocks, and some like the devil with foure armes and 4. hands. They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, & some another, & by breake of day and before, there are men & women which come out of the towne and wash themselves in Ganges. And there are divers old men which upon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they give the people three or foure strawes, which they take & hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselves: and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they have in a cloth a litle Rice, Barlie, or money, which, when they have washed themselves, they give to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they go to divers of their images, & give them of their sacrifices. And when they give, the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in divers places there standeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada. And they have divers great stones carved, whereon they poure water, & throw thereupon some rice, wheate, barly, and some other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Moreover, they have a great place made of stone like to a well with steppes to goe downe; wherein the water standeth very foule and stinketh: for the great quantitie of flowers, which continually they throwe into it, doe make it stinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they say when they wash themselves in it, that their sinnes be forgiven them, because God, as they say, did wash himselfe in that place. They gather up the sand in the bottome of it, and say it is holy. They never pray but in the water, and they wash themselves overhead,

A pilgrimage of the Gentiles.

and lade up water with both their handes, and turne themselves about, and then they drinke a litle of the water three times, and so goe to their gods which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will pray upon the earth with their armes and legs at length out, and will rise up and lie downe, and kisse the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not stirre their right foote. And some of them will make their ceremonies with fifteene or sixteene pots litle and great, and ring a litle bel when they make their mixtures tenne or twelve times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and divers sit by them, and one that reacheth them their pots: and they say divers things over their pots many times, and when they have done, they goe to their gods, and strowe their sacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which sit by, in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fiftie and sometime an hundred together, to wash them in this well, and to offer to these idols.

They have in some of these houses their idoles standing, and one sitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blowe winde upon them. And when they see any company comming, they ring a litle bell which hangeth by them, and many give them their almes, but especially those which come out of the countrey. Many of them are blacke and have clawes of brasse with long nayles, and some ride upon peacockes and other foules which be evill favoured, with long haukes bils, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there is one which they make great account of: for they say hee giveth them all things both foode and apparell, and one sitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make wind towards him. Here some bee burned to ashes, some scorched in the fire and throwen into the water, and dogges and foxes doe presently eate them. The wives here doe burne

with their husbands when they die, if they will not, their heads be shaven, and never any account is made of them afterward. The people goe all naked save a litle cloth bound about their middle. [II. i. 256.] Their women have their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of silver, copper, tinne, and with round hoopes made of Ivorie, adorned with amber stones, and with many agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads, and a stroke of red up to the crowne, and so it runneth three maner of wayes. In their Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted gownes of cotton like to our mattraces and quilted caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a slit to looke out at, and so tied downe beneath their eares. If a man or woman be sicke and like to die, they will lay him before their idols all night, and that shall helpe him or make an ende of him. And if he do not mend that night, his friends will come and sit with him a litle and cry, and afterwards will cary him to the waters side and set him upon a litle raft made of reeds, and so let him goe downe the river. When they be maried the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane, that is, a priest, a cowe, and a calfe, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they give the olde man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a basket crosse bound with divers things in it: the cloth hee laieth upon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile, and saieth certaine wordes: and she hath a copper or a brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wives hand by her husbands, and all have the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot upon the cowes taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade up water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe,

This tying of new maried folks together by the clothes, was used by the Mexicans in old time.

and then they give somewhat to the poore which be alwayes there, and to the Bramane or priest they give the cowe and calfe, and afterward goe to divers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat upon the ground and kisse it divers times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe idoles bee blacke and evill favoured, their mouthes monstrous, their eares gilded, and full of jewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, silver, and glasse, some having one thing in their handes, and some another. You may not come into the houses where they stand, with your shooes on. They have continually lampes burning before them. From Bannaras I went to Patenaw downe the river of Ganges: where in the way we passed many faire townes, and a countrey very fruitfull: and many very great rivers doe enter into Ganges, and some of them as great as Ganges, which cause Ganges to bee of a great breadth, and so broad that in the time of raine you cannot see from one side to the other. These Indians when they bee scorched and throwen into the water, the men swimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces upwards, I thought they tied something to them to cause them to doe so: but they say no. There be very many thieves in this countrey, which be like to the Arabians: for they have no certaine abode, but are sometime in one place and sometime in another. Here the women bee so decked with silver and copper, that it is strange to see, they use no shooes by reason of the rings of silver and copper which they weare on their toes. Here at Patanaw they finde gold in this maner. They digge deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great bolles, and therein they finde the gold, and they make the pits round about with bricke, that the earth fall not in. Patenaw is a very long and a great towne. In times past it was a kingdom, but now it is under Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor. The men are tall and slender, and have many old folks among them: the houses are simple, made of earth and covered with strawe, the streetes are very large.

Patenaw.

Gold found.

In this towne there is a trade of cotton, & cloth of cotton, much sugar, which they cary from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium & other commodities. He that is chiefe here under the king is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patenau I saw a dissembling prophet which sate upon an horse in the market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands, and then kissed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but sure he was a lasie lubber. I left him there sleeping. The people of these countries be much given to such prating and dissembling hypocrites.

Tanda in Gouren.

From Patanaw I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gouren. It hath in times past bene a kingdom, but now is subdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffique is here of cotton, and of cloth of cotton. The people goe naked with a litle cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the countrey of Bengala. Here be many Tigers, wild Bufs, and great store of wilde foule: they are very great idolaters. Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river flowing over the bankes, in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way which the river Ganges was woont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farre from the water. From Agra downe the river Jemena, and downe the river Ganges, I was five moneths comming to Bengala, but it may be sailed in much shorter time.

[II. i. 257.] *Couche: this seemeth to be Quicheu, accounted by some among the provinces of China.*

I went from Bengala into the country of Couche, which lieth 25. dayes journy Northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counse: his countrey is great, and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the countrie is set with Bambos or Canes made sharpe at both the endes & driven into the earth, and they can let in the water & drowne the

ground above knee deepe, so that men nor horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silke & muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people have eares which be marveilous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be yong. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kil nothing. They have hospitals for sheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, & for all other living creatures. When they be old & lame, they keepe them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places & bring it thither, they wil give him mony for it or other victuals, & keepe it in their hospitals or let it go. They wil give meat to the Ants. Their smal mony is almonds, which oftentimes they use to eat. From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which standeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Satagan: they cal it Porto Piqueno. We went through the wildernes, because the right way was full of thieves, where we passed the countrey of Gouren, where we found but few villages, but almost all wildernes, & saw many buffes, swine & deere, grasse longer then a man, and very many Tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno southwestward, standeth an haven which is called Angeli, in the countrey of Orixa. It was a kingdom of it selfe, & the king was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the king of Patan which was their neighbour, but he did not enjoy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is king of Agra, Delli, & Cambaia. Orixa standeth 6. daies journey from Satagan, southwestward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of cotton, & great store of cloth which is made of grasse, which they call Yerva, it is like a silke. They make good cloth of it which they send for India & divers other places. To this haven of Angeli come every yere many ships out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and divers other places; & lade from thence great store of Rice, & much cloth

Pure Gentilisme.

In Mexico they use likewise for small money the fruit Cacao, which are like almonds.

Hugely.

Porto Angeli.

The like cloth may be made of the long grasse in Virginia.

of cotton wooll, much sugar, & long pepper, great store of butter & other victuals for India. Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things. Here in Bengala they have every day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau, and they have many great boats which they cal pericose, wherewithall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: these boates have 24. or 26. oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but have no coverture. Here the Gentiles have the water of Ganges in great estimation, for having good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they have not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themselves well. From Satagam I travelled by the countrey of the king of Tippara or porto Grande, with whom the Mogores or Mogen have almost continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rame, be stronger then the king of Tippara, so that Chatigan or porto Grande is oftentimes under the king of Recon.

Satagam.

Tippara or porto Grande.

There is a country 4. daies journie from Couche or Quicheu before mentioned, which is called Bottanter and the citie Bottia, the king is called Dermain; the people whereof are very tall and strong, and there are marchants which come out of China, & they say out of Muscovia or Tartarie. And they come to buy muske, cambals, agats, silke, pepper and saffron like the saffron of Persia. The countrey is very great, 3. moneths journey. There are very high mountains in this countrey, & one of them so steep that when a man is 6. daies journey off it, he may see it perfectly. Upon these mountains are people which have eares of a spanne long: if their eares be not long, they call them apes. They say that when they be upon the mountaines, they see ships in the Sea sayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whether they go. There are marchants which come out of the East, they say,

Bottanter a great Northren country.

Marchants of China, Moscovie and Tartarie.

These seeme to be the mountains of Imaus called by the people Cumao.

from under the sunne, which is from China, which have no beards, and they say there it is something warme. But those which come from the other side of the mountains which is from the North, say there it is very cold.

The apparel of the Tartarie marchants.

These Northren merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats, white hosen close, and bootes which be of Moscovia or Tartarie. They report that in their countrey they have very good horses, but they be litle: some men have foure, five, or sixe hundred horses and kine: they live with milke and fleshe. They cut the tailes of their kine, and sell them very deere, for they bee in great request, and much esteemed in those partes. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is above a spanne long: they use to hang them for braverie upon the heades of their Elephants: they bee much used in Pegu and China: they buie and sell by scores upon the ground. The people be very swift on foote.

Cowe tailes in great request.

Bacola.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the king whereof is a Gentile, a man very well disposed and delighteth much to shoot in a gun. His countrey is very great and fruitful, and hath store of Rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked, except a litle cloth about their waste. The women weare great store of silver hoopes about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

Serrepore.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore which standeth upon the river of Ganges, the king is called Chondery. They be all hereabout rebels against their king Zelabdim Echebar: for here are so many rivers & Ilands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevaile against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan.

Sinnergan is a towne sixe leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chiefe king of all these

countries is called Isacan, and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. The houses here, as they be in the most part of India, are very litle, and covered with strawe, and have a fewe mats round about the wals, and the doore to keepe out the Tygers and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no flesh, nor kill no beast: they live of Rice, milke, and fruits. They goe with a litle cloth before them, and all the rest of their bodies is naked. Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

I went from Serrepore the 28. of November 1586. for Pegu in a small ship or foist of one Albert Caravallos, and so passing downe Ganges, and passing by the Island of Sundiva, porto Grande, or the countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon and Mogen, leaving them on our left side with a faire wind at Northwest: our course was South & by East, which brought us to the barre of Negrais in Pegu: if any contrary wind had come, we had thrown many of our things over-boord: for we were so pestered with people & goods, that there was scant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is 90. leagues. We entred the barre of Negrais, which is a brave barre & hath 4. fadomes water where it hath least. Three dayes after we came to Cosmin, which is a very pretie towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall & well disposed; the women white, round faced, with litle eies: the houses are high built, set upon great high postes, & they go up to them with long ladders for feare of the Tygers which be very many. The countrey is very fruitful of all things. Here are very great Figs, Orenges, Cocoes, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall, but after we be entred the barre, it is very lowe and full of rivers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, which they call paroes, and keepe their houses with wife and children in them.

Sundiva Island.

Negrais.

Cosmin.

Ladders used to avoyd the danger of wild beasts.

Dwelling in boats.

From the barre of Nigrais to the citie of Pegu is ten dayes journey by the rivers. Wee went from Cosmin to Pegu in Paroes or boates, and passing up the rivers wee came to Medon, which is a prety towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houses and their markets in them all upon the water. They rowe too and fro, and have all their marchandizes in their boates with a great Sombrero or shadow over their heads to keepe the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaves of the Coco trees and fig trees, and is very light.

Medon.

Dela.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire towne, and hath a faire port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are 18. or 20. very great and long houses, where they tame and keep many elephants of the kings: for there about in the wildernesse they catch the wilde elephants. It is a very fruitfull countrey.

Cirion.

From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good towne, and hath a faire porte into the sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra, and from divers other places. And there the ships staie and discharge, & send up their goods in Paroes to Pegu. From

Macao.

Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretie towne, where we left our boats or Paroes, & in the morning

Coches caried on mens shoulders.

taking Delingeges, which are a kind of Coches made of cords & cloth quilted, & caried upon a stang betweene 3. or 4. men: we came to Pegu the same day.

Pegu.

Pegu is a citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walles of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two townes, the old towne and the newe. In the olde towne are all the marchants strangers, and very many marchants of the countrey. All the goods are sold in the olde towne which is very great, and hath many suburbes round about it, and all the houses are made of Canes which they call Bambos, and bee covered with strawe. In your house you have a Warehouse

which they call Godon, which is made of bricke to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or five hundred houses: so that if the Godon were not, you should bee in danger to have all burned, if any winde should rise, at a trice. In the newe towne is the king, and all his Nobilitie and Gentrie. It is a citie very great and populous, and is made square and with very faire walles, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they bee made [II. i. 259.] of stone, for every square five gates. There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to the other, and so broad that tenne or twelve men may ride a front thorow them. On both sides of them at every mans doore is set a palmer tree which is the nut tree: which make a very faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and covered with tiles. The kings house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workemanship is upon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagode or idole standeth is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the first gate of the kings house is a great large roome, on both sides whereof are houses made for the kings elephants, which be marvellous great and faire, and are brought up to warres and in service of the king. And among the rest he hath foure white elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he: if any other king hath one, hee will send unto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought unto the king, all the merchants in the city are commanded to see them, and to give him a present of halfe a ducat, which doth

Foure white elephants.

come to a great summe: for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you have given your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the kings house. This king in his title is called the king of the white elephants. If any other king have one, and will not send it him, he will make warre with him for it: for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdome, then not to conquere him. They do very great service unto these white elephants; every one of them standeth in an house gilded with golde, and they doe feede in vessels of silver and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the river to be washed, as every day they do, goeth under a canopy of cloth of golde or of silke carried over him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on drummes, shawmes, or other instruments: and when he is washed and commeth out of the river, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a silver basin: which is his office given him by the king. There is no such account made of any blacke elephant, be he never so great. And surely there be woonderfull faire and great, and some be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the king hath above five thousand elephants of warre, besides many other which be not taught to fight. This king hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wilde elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a faire court within, and is in a great grove or wood: and there be many huntsmen, which go into the wildernesse with she elephants: for without the she they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpose: and every hunter hath five or sixe of them: and they say that they anoint the she elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wild elephant doth smell, he will not leave her. When they have brought the wilde elephant neere unto the place, they send word unto the towne, and many horsemen and footmen come out and cause the she elephant to enter into a strait

The king of the white elephants.

way which doeth goe to the palace, and the she and he do runne in: for it is like a wood: and when they be in, the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walles, which be made of so strong trees, that some of them doe breake their teeth with running against them. Then they pricke him with sharpe canes, & cause him to go into a strait house, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him stand there three or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drinke, and within few dayes he becommeth tame. The chiefe force of the king is in these elephants. And when they go into the warres they set a frame of wood upon their backes, bound with great cordes, wherein sit foure or sixe men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrowes, darts and other weapons. And they say that their skinnes are so thicke that a pellet of an harquebush will scarse pearce them, except it be in some tender place. Their weapons be very badde. They have gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, darts and swords short without points. The king keepeth a very great state: when he sitteth abroad as he doth every day twise, all his noble men which they call Shemines sit on ech side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to heave up his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entreth, in the middle way, and when he commeth neere to the king: and then he sitteth downe and talketh with the king: if the king like well of him, he sitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if he thinke not well of him, he sitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very strong. At my being there he went to Odia in the countrey of Siam with three hundred thousand men, and five thousand elephants. Thirty thousand men were

Odia a city in Siam.

[II. i. 260.] his guard. These people do eate roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing. When the king rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes upon an elephant with a fine castle upon him very fairely gilded with gold; and sometimes upon a great frame like an horsliter, which hath a little house upon it covered over head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, & set with many rubies & saphires, whereof he hath infinite store in his country, and is caried upon sixteene or eighteene mens shoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion. Very great feasting and triumphing is many times before the king both of men and women. This king hath little force by Sea, because hee hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of golde and silver, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and saphires, and spinelles. Neere unto the palace of the king, there is a treasure woonderfull rich; the which because it is so neere, he doth not account of it: and it standeth open for all men to see in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houses gilded very richly, and covered with leade: in every one of them are Pagodes or images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the picture of a king in golde with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and saphires, and about him there stand foure children of golde. In the second house is the picture of a man in silver woonderfull great, as high as an house; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made sitting, with a crowne on his head very rich with stones. In the third house is the picture of a man greater then the other, made of brasse, with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another, made of brasse, greater then the other, with a crowne also on his head very rich with stones. In another court not farre from this stand foure other Pagodes or idoles, marvellous great, of copper, made in

This maner of cariage on mens shoulders is used in Peru, and in Florida.

the same place where they do stand; for they be so great that they be not to be remooved: they stand in foure houses gilded very faire, and are themselves gilded all over save their heads, and they shew like a blacke Morian. Their expences in gilding of their images are wonderfull. The king hath one wife and above three hundred concubines, by which they say he hath foure-score or fourescore and ten children. He sitteth in judgement almost every day. They use no speech, but give up their supplications written in the leaves of a tree with the point of an yron bigger then a bodkin. These leaves are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are also double. He which giveth in his supplication, doth stand in a place a little distance off with a present. If his matter be liked of, the king accepteth of his present, and granteth his request: if his sute be not liked of, he returneth with his present; for the king will not take it.

Paper of the leaves of a tree.

In India there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of S. Thome, or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither also much cotton, yarne red coloured with a root which they called Saia, which will never lose his colour: it is very wel solde here, and very much of it commeth yerely to Pegu. By your mony you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, S. Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the bar of Nigrais and to Cosmin. To Martavan a port of the sea in the kingdome of Pegu come many ships from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porcelanes, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion a port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be woorth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make

An excellent colour with a root called Saia.

Woollen cloth and scarlets solde in Pegu.

your debt good, because you sell your marchandises upon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your house: which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children and his slaves, and binde them at your doore, and set them in the Sunne; for that is the law of the countrey. Their current money in these parts is a kinde of brasse which they call Gansa, wherewith you may buy golde, silver, rubies, muske, and all other things. The golde and silver is marchandise, and is worth sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, as other wares be. This brasen money doeth goe by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or somewhat lesse. The marchandise which be in Pegu, are golde, silver, rubies, saphires, spinelles, muske, benjamin or frankincense, long pepper, tinne, leade, copper, lacca whereof they make hard waxe, rice, and wine made of rice, and some sugar. The elephants doe eate the sugar canes, or els they would make very much. And they consume many canes likewise in making of their Varellaes or Idole temples, which are in great number both great and small. They be made round like a sugar loafe, some are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compasse: within they be all earth done about with stone. They consume in these Varellaes great quantity of golde; for that they be all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and every ten or twelve yeeres they must be new gilded, because the raine consumeth off the golde: for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their golde in these vanities, it would be very plentifull and good cheape in Pegu. About two dayes journey from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a woonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the foot to the toppe. And there is an house by it wherein the Tallipoies which are their Priests doe

The money of Pegu.

The severall marchandises of Pegu.

The forme of their Temples or Varellaes.

[II. i. 261.]

The Tallipoies or Priests of Pegu.

preach. This house is five and fifty paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walks in it, and forty great pillars gilded, which stand betweene the walks; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded: it is gilded with golde within and without. There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in: and many goodly houses for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with golde. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may goe in the shade above two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come from all places of the kingdome of Pegu thither at their feast. In Pegu they have many Tallipoies or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort unto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to say, their holy place or temple, at the doore there is a great jarre of water with a cocke or a ladle in it, and there they wash their feet; and then they enter in, and lift up their hands to their heads first to their preacher, and then to the Sunne, and so sit downe. The Tallipoies go very strangely apparelled with one camboline or thinne cloth next to their body of a browne colour, another of yellow doubled many times upon their shoulder: and those two be girded to them with a broad girdle: and they have a skinne of leather hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon they sit, bare headed & bare footed: for none of them weareth shooes; with their right armes bare and a great broad sombrero or shadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the Winter from the raine. When the Tallipoies or priests take their Orders, first they go to schoole untill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowli:

The apparell of their priests.

he is of the chiefest and most learned, and he opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leave their friends, and the company of all women, and take upon them the habit of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth upon an horse about the streets very richly apparelled, with drummes and pipes, to shew that he leaveth the riches of the world to be a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is caried upon a thing like an horsliter, which they call a serion, upon ten or twelve mens shoulders in the apparell of a Tallipoie, with pipes and drummes, and many Tallipoies with him, and al his friends, and so they go with him to his house which standeth without the towne, and there they leave him. Every one of them hath his house, which is very little, set upon six or eight posts, and they go up to them with a ladder of twelve or foureteene staves. Their houses be for the most part by the hie wayes side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and covered, tied with a broad girdle upon their shoulder, which commeth under their arme, wherewith they go to begge their victuals which they eate, which is rice, fish, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the doore, and the people presently doe give them, some one thing, and some another: and they put all together in their potte: for they say they must eate of their almes, and therewith content themselves. They keepe their feasts by the Moone: and when it is new Moone they keepe their greatest feast: and then the people send rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which be of that Church, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the Tallipoies do preach, many of the people cary them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other ceremonies nor service that I could see, but onely preaching.

Observation of new moones.

I went from Pegu to Jamahey, which is in the countrey of the Langeiannes, whom we call Jangomes; it is five and twenty dayes journey Northeast from Pegu. In which journey I passed many fruitfull and pleasant countreys. The countrey is very lowe, and hath many faire rivers. The houses are very bad, made of canes, and covered with straw. Heere are many wilde buffes and elephants. Jamahey is a very faire and great towne, with faire houses of stone, well peopled, the streets are very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all these countreys they weare no shooes. The women be much fairer then those of Pegu. Heere in all these countreys they have no wheat. They make some cakes of rice. Hither to Jamahey come many marchants out of China, and bring great store of muske, golde, silver, and many other things of China worke. Here is great store of victuals: they have such plenty that they will not milke the buffles, as they doe in all other places. [II. i. 262.] Here is great store of copper and benjamin. In these countreys when the people be sicke they make a vow to offer meat unto the divell, if they escape: and when they be recovered they make a banket with many pipes & drummes and other instruments, and dansing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocos, figges, arrecaes, and other fruits, and with great dauncing and rejoycing they offer to the divell, and say, they give the divel to eat, and drive him out. When they be dancing and playing they will cry & hallow very loud; and in this sort they say they drive him away. And when they be sicke a Tallipoy or two every night doth sit by them & sing, to please the divell that he should not hurt them. And if any die he is caried upon a great frame made like a tower, with a covering all gilded with golde made of canes caried with foureteene or sixteene men, with drummes and pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his

Jamahey five & twenty dayes journy Northeastward from Pegu.

They burne their dead.

friends and neighbours, all men: and they give to the tallipoies or priests many mats and cloth: and then they returne to the house and there make a feast for two dayes: and then the wife with all the neighbours wives & her friends go to the place where he was burned, and there they sit a certaine time and cry and gather the pieces of bones which be left unburned and bury them, and then returne to their houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be neere of kin do shave their heads, which they do not use except it be for the death of a friend: for they much esteeme of their haire.

Caplan is the place where the rubies and other precious stones are found.

Caplan is the place where they finde the rubies, saphires, and spinelles: it standeth sixe dayes journey from Ava in the kingdome of Pegu. There are many great high hilles out of which they digge them. None may go to the pits but onely those which digge them.

In Pegu, and in all the countreys of Ava, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men weare bunches or little round balles in their privy members: some of them weare two and some three. They cut the skin and so put them in, one into one side and another into the other side; which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be maried the husband is for every child which his wife hath, to put in one untill he come to three and then no more: for they say the women doe desire them. They were invented because they should not abuse the male sexe. For in times past all those countries were so given to that villany, that they were very scarse of people. It was also ordained that the women should not have past three cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they binde about them; which are so strait, that when they go in the streets, they shew one side of the leg bare above the knee. The bunches aforesayd be of divers sorts: the least be as big as a litle walnut, and very round: the greatest are as big as a litle hennes egge:

Anthony Galvano writeth of these bals.

some are of brasse and some of silver: but those of silver be for the king and his noble men. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a litle bell. There are some made of leade, which they call Selwy because they ring but litle: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The king sometimes taketh his out, and giveth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and because he hath used them, they esteeme them greatly. They will put one in, and heale up the place in seven or eight dayes.

The Bramas which be of the kings countrey (for the king is a Brama) have their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselves, made black with certaine things which they have: they use to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them: but none may have it but the Bramas which are of the kings kinred.

The people of Pegu weare no beards.

These people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for that purpose. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haires grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out all the rest: for he carieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haires out assoone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They have their teeth blacked both men and women, for they say a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The Pegues if they have a sute in the law which is so doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties go into the water by the poles, and there sit men to judge, and they both do dive under the water, and he which remaineth longest under the water doth winne the sute.

Malacca.

The 10 of January I went from Pegu to Malacca, passing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martavan, the Iland of Tavi, from whence commeth great store of

tinne which serveth all India, the Ilands of Tanaseri, Junsalaon, and many others; and so came to Malacca the 8 of February, where the Portugals have a castle which standeth nere the sea. And the countrey fast without the towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kinde of proud people. They go naked with a cloth about their middle, and a litle roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ships from China & from the Malucos, Banda, Timor, and from many other Ilands
[II. i. 263.] of the Javas, which bring great store of spices and drugs, and diamants and other jewels. The voyages into many of these Ilands belong unto the captaine of Malacca: so that none may goe thither without his licence: which yeeld him great summes of money every yeere. The Portugals heere have often times warres with the king of Achem which standeth in the Iland of Sumatra: from whence commeth great store of pepper and other spices every yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the Red sea, and other places.

The voyage to Japan.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white silke, golde, muske, and porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but silver. They have a great caracke which goeth thither every yere, and she bringeth from thence every yere above sixe hundred thousand crusadoes: and all this silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand crusadoes more in silver which they bring yeerely out of India, they imploy to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence golde, muske, silke, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffike, they must remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the city, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the towne all night, but must lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are evill used and imprisoned. The

Eight hundred thousand crusadoes in silver imployed yerely by the Portugals in China.

Chinians are very suspitious, and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any strangers come into his countrey. And further it is credibly reported that the common people see their king very seldome or not at all, nor may not looke up to that place where he sitteth. And when he rideth abroad he is caried upon a great chaire or serrion gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little house with a latise to looke out at: so that he may see them, but they may not looke up at him: and all the time that he passeth by them, they heave up their hands to their heads, & lay their heads on the ground, and looke not up untill he be passed. The order of China is when they mourne, that they weare white thread shoes, and hats of straw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres, the wife for her husband three yeeres: the sonne for his father a yeere, and for his mother two yeres. And all the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the house, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam or lime, and coffined: and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping, and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleasure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chineans, Japonians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats haire.

The writing of the people of China &c.

Laban is an Iland among the Javas from whence come the diamants of the New water. And they finde them in the rivers: for the king will not suffer them to digge the rocke.

Laban.

Diamants.

Jamba is an Iland among the Javas also, from whence come diamants. And the king hath a masse of earth which is golde; it groweth in the middle of a river: and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yere; which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of April.

Jamba.

Golde.

Bima. Bima is another Iland among the Javas, where the women travell and labour as our men do in England, and the men keepe house and go where they will.

He returneth from Malacca. The 29 of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martavan, and so to Pegu, where I remained the second time untill the 17 of September, and then I went to Cosmin, and there tooke shipping; and passing many dangers by reason of contrary windes, it pleased God that we arrived in Bengala in November following: where I stayed for want of passage untill the third of February 1589, and then I shipped my selfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lacke of fresh water: for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many marchants and passengers, and we had very many calmes, and hote weather. Yet it pleased God that we arrived in Ceylon the sixth of March, where we stayed five dayes to water, and to furnish our selves with other necessary provision. This Ceylon is a brave Iland, very fruitfull & faire; but by reason of continuall warres with the king thereof, all things are very deare: for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be: wherefore often times they have great want of victuals. Their provision of victuals commeth out of Bengala every yere. The king is called Raia, and is of great force: for he commeth to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals have their fort, with an hundred thousand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them; yet many of them be good with their pieces which be muskets. When the king talketh with any man, he standeth upon one legge, and setteth the other foot upon his knee with his sword in his hand: it is not their order for the king to sit but to stand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his middle: his haire is long and bound up with a little fine cloth about his head: all the rest of his body is naked. His guard are a thousand men, which stand round about him, and he in the

Bengala.

Ceylon.

[II. i. 264.]

middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they say are the best kinde of all the Malabars. Their eares are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a spanne long. The wood which they burne is Cinamom wood, and it smelleth very sweet. There is great store of rubies, saphires, and spinelles in this Iland: the best kinde of all be here; but the king will not suffer the inhabitants to digge for them, lest his enemies should know of them, and make warres against him, and so drive him out of his countrey for them. They have no horses in all the countrey. The elephants be not so great as those of Pegu, which be monstrous huge: but they say all other elephants do feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very small. Their women have a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the rest is bare. All of them be blacke and but little, both men and women. Their houses are very little, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and covered with the leaves of the same tree. *Blacke people.*

The eleventh of March we sailed from Ceylon, and so doubled the cape of Comori. Not far from thence, betweene Ceylon and the maine land of Negapatan, they fish for pearles. And there is fished every yere very much; which doth serve all India, Cambaia, and Bengala, it is not so orient as the pearle of Baharim in the gulfe of Persia. From cape de Comori we passed by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals: from whence commeth great store of pepper, which commeth for Portugall: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the caracks of Portugall. Thus passing the coast we arrived in Cochin the 22 of March, where we found the weather warme, but scarsity of victuals: for here groweth neither corne nor rice: and the greatest part commeth from Bengala. They have here very bad water, *Cape de Comori.* *Coulam.* *Cochin.*

People with swollen legges mentioned also by Joh. Huygen.

for the river is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them have their legs swollen as bigge as a man in the waste, & many of them are scant able to go. These people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut: and they differ much from the other Malabars. These have their heads very full of haire, and bound up with a string: and there doth appeare a bush without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and strong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their best weapon: yet there be some calivers among them, but they handle them badly.

How pepper groweth.

Heere groweth the pepper; and it springeth up by a tree or a pole, and is like our ivy berry, but something longer like the wheat eare: and at the first the bunches are greene, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leafe is much lesser then the ivy leafe and thinner. All the inhabitants here have very little houses covered with the leaves of the coco-trees. The men be of a reasonable stature; the

Blacke people

women litle; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes; all the rest of their bodies be naked: they have horrible great eares with many rings set with pearles and stones in them. The king goeth incached, as they do all; he doth not remaine in a place above five or sixe dayes: he hath many houses, but they be but litle: his guard is but small: he remooveth from one house to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and course cinamom groweth here in this countrey. The best cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine yoong trees. Here are very many palmer or coco trees, which is their chiefe food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeeldeth many other necessary things, as I have declared before.

‖ Or Calicut, or Cananor.

The Naires which be under the king of ‖ Samorin, which be Malabars, have alwayes wars with the Portugals. The king hath alwayes peace with them; but his

people goe to the sea to robbe & steale. Their chiefe captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three castles under him. When the Portugals complaine to the king, he sayth he doth not send them out: but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or five parowes or boats together; and have in every one of them fifty or threescore men, and boord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take every yere many foists and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores. This kings countrey beginneth twelve leagues from Cochin, and reacheth neere unto Goa. I remained in Cochin untill the second of November, which was eight moneths; for that there was no passage that went away in all that time: if I had come two dayes sooner I had found a passage presently. From Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From Cochin *Goa.* to Goa is an hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threescore leagues, where I remained *Chaul.* three and twenty dayes: and there making my provision of things necessary for the shippe, from thence I departed to Ormus; where I stayed for a passage to *Ormus.* Balsara fifty dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues.

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my booke, to declare some things which India and the countrey farther Eastward do bring forth.

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, espe- [II. i. 265.] cially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in *The pepper tree.* the fields among the bushes without any labour: and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The shrubbe is like unto our ivy tree: and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sun, and it becommeth blacke.

The ginger groweth like unto our garlike, and the *Ginger.* root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

Cloves. The cloves doe come from the Iles of the Moluccoes, which be divers Ilands: their tree is like to our bay tree.

Nutmegs & maces. The nutmegs and maces grow together, and come from the Ile of Banda: the tree is like to our walnut tree, but somewhat lesser.

The white sandol is wood very sweet & in great request among the Indians; for they grinde it with a litle water, and anoynt their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Isle of Timor.

Camphora. Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is solde dearer then golde. I thinke none of it commeth for Christendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in canes and is the best, commeth from the great Isle of Borneo.

Lignum Aloes. Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The benjamin commeth out of the countreys of Siam and Jangomes.

Long pepper. The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Ilands of the Javas.

Muske. The muske commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the marchants which bring it to Pegu to sell; In Tartarie there is a little beast like unto a yong roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it: and hereof commeth the muske.

Amber. Of the amber they holde divers opinions; but most men say it commeth out of the sea, and that they finde it upon the shores side.

Rubies, saphires and spinels. The rubies, saphires, and spinelles are found in Pegu.

Diamants. The diamants are found in divers places, as in Bisnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Ilands of the Javas.

The best pearles come from the Iland of Baharim in the Persian sea, the woorser from the Piscaria neere the Isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Iland on the Southermost coast of China.

Spodium and many other kindes of drugs come from Cambaia. *Spodium.*

Now to returne to my voyage; from Ormus I went to Balsara or Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: and we passed the most part of the way by the strength of men by halling the boat up the river with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth nere to Ninive, which is all ruinated and destroyed; it standeth fast by the river of Tigris. From Mosul I went to Merdin, which is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire towne, and it hath a goodly fountaine ful of fish; where the Moores hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they say he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, & so passed the river of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certaine moneths for company; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arrived the 29 of April 1591, having bene eight yeeres out of my native countrey.

Basora. *Babylon.* *Mosul.* *Merdin.* *Orfa.* *Bir.* *Aleppo.* *Tripolis.*

The report of John Huighen van Linschoten concerning M. Newberies and M. Fitches imprisonment, and of their escape, which happened while he was in Goa.

IN the moneth of December, Anno 1583, there arrived in the towne and Iland of Ormus foure English men, which came from Aleppo in the countrey of Syria, having sailed out of England, & passed thorow the straights of Gibraltar to Tripoli a towne and haven lying on the coast of Syria, where all the ships discharge their wares & marchandises, & from thence are caried by land unto

Aleppo, which is nine dayes journy. In Aleppo there are resident divers marchants & factours of all nations, as Italians, French men, English men, Armenians, Turks and Moores, every man having his religion apart, paying tribute unto the great Turke. In that towne there is great traffique, for that from thence every yeere twise, there travell two Caffyls, that is, companies of people and camels, which travell unto India, Persia, Arabia, and all the countreys bordering on the same, and deale in all sorts of marchandise, both to and from those countreys, as I in another place have already declared. Three of the sayd English men aforesayd, were sent by the company of English men that are resident in Aleppo, to see if in Ormus they might keepe any factours, and so traffique in that place, like as also the Italians do, that is to say, the Venetians which in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca have their factours, and traffique there, aswell for stones and pearles, as for other wares and spices of those countreyes, which from thence are caried over land into Venice. One of these English men had bene once before in the sayd towne of Ormus, and there had taken good information of the trade, and upon his advise and advertisement, the other were as then come thither with him, bringing great store of marchandises with them, as Clothes, Saffron, all kindes of drinking glasses, and Haberdashers wares, as looking glasses, knives, and such like stuffe: and to conclude, brought with them all kinde of small wares that may be devised. And although those wares amounted unto great summes of money, notwithstanding it was but onely a shadow or colour, thereby to give no occasion to be mistrusted, or seene into: for that their principall intent was to buy great quantities of precious stones, as Diamants, Pearles, Rubies, &c. to the which end they brought with them a great summe of money and golde, and that very secretly, not to be deceived or robbed thereof, or to runne into any danger for the same. They being thus arrived in Ormus, hired a shoppe, and beganne to sell

[II. i. 266.]

John Newbery had beene in Ormus before. Anno. 1581.

their wares: which the Italians perceiving, whose factours continue there (as I sayd before) and fearing that those English men finding good vent for their commodities in that place, would be resident therein, and so dayly increase, which would be no small losse and hinderance unto them, did presently invent all the subtile meanes they could to hinder them: and to that end they went unto the Captaine of Ormus, as then called Don Gonsalo de Meneses, telling him that there were certaine English men come into Ormus, that were sent onely to spie the countrey; and sayd further, that they were heretikes: and therefore they sayd it was convenient they should not be suffered so to depart, without being examined, and punished as enemies, to the example of others. The Captaine being a friend unto the English men, by reason that one of them which had bene there before, had given him certaine presents, would not be perswaded to trouble them, but shipped them with all their wares in a shippe that was to saile for Goa, and sent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trie them, as he thought good: where when they were arrived, they were cast into prison, and first examined whether they were good Christians or no: and because they could speake but badde Portugall, onely two of them spake good Dutch, as having bene certaine yeres in the Low countreyes, and there traffiked, there was a Dutch Jesuite born in the towne of Bruges in Flanders, that had bene resident in the Indies for the space of thirty yers, sent unto them, to undermine and examine them: wherein they behaved themselves so well, that they were holden and esteemed for good and Catholicke Christians: yet still suspected, because they were strangers, and specially English men. The Jesuites still tolde them that they should be sent prisoners into Portugall, wishing them to leave off their trade of marchandise, and to become Jesuites, promising them thereby to defend them from all trouble. The cause why they sayd so, and perswaded them in that earnest maner, was, for that the Dutch Jesuite had secretly

bene advertised of great summes of money which they had about them, and sought to get the same into their fingers, for that the first vowe and promise they make at their entrance into their Order, is, to procure the welfare of their sayd Order, by what meanes soever it be. But although the English men denied them, and refused the Order, saying, that they were unfit for such places, neverthelesse they proceeded so farre, that one of them, being a Painter (that came with the other three for company, to see the countreys, and to seeke his fortune, and was not sent thither by the English marchants) partly for feare, and partly for want of meanes to relieve himselfe, promised them to become a Jesuite: and although they knew and well perceived he was not any of those that had the treasure, yet because he was a Painter, whereof there are but few in India, and that they had great need of him to paint their Church, which otherwise would cost them great charges, to bring one from Portugall, they were very glad thereof, hoping in time to get the rest of them with all their money into their felloship: so that to conclude, they made this Painter a Jesuite, where he continued certaine dayes, giving him good store of worke to doe, and entertaining him with all the favour and friendship they could devise, and all to winne the rest, to be a pray for them: but the other three continued still in prison, being in great feare, because they understood no man that came to them, nor any man almost knew what they sayd: till in the end it was tolde them that certaine Dutch men dwelt in the Archbishops house, and counsell given them to send unto them, whereat they much rejoyced, and sent to me and an other Dutch man, desiring us once to come and speake with them, which we presently did, and they with teares in their eyes made complaint unto us of their hard usage, shewing us from point to point (as it is sayd before) why
[II. i. 267.] they were come into the countrey, withall desiring us for Gods cause, if we might by any meanes, to helpe them, that they might be set at liberty upon sureties,

being ready to endure what justice should ordaine for them, saying, that if it were found contrary, and that they were other then travelling marchants, and sought to finde out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be punished. With that we departed from them, promising them to do our best: and in the end we obtained so much of the Archbishop, that he went unto the Viceroy to deliver our petition, and perswaded him so well, that he was content to set them at libertie, and that their goods should be delivered unto them againe, upon condition they should put in sureties for two thousand pardawes, not to depart the countrey before other order should be taken with them. Thereupon they presently found a Citizen of the towne that was their surety for two thousand pardawes, to whom they payed in hand one thousand and three hundred pardawes, and because they sayd they had no more ready money, he gave them credit, seeing what store of marchandise they had, whereby at all times if need were, he might be satisfied: and by that meanes they were delivered out of prison, and hired themselves an house, and beganne to set open shoppe: so that they uttered much ware, and were presently well knowen among all the marchants, because they alwayes respected gentlemen, specially such as bought their wares, shewing great courtesie and honour unto them, whereby they woon much credit, and were beloved of all men, so that every man favoured them, and was willing to doe them pleasure. To us they shewed great friendship, for whose sake the Archbishop favoured them much, and shewed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increase, by offering him many presents, although he would not receive them, neither would ever take gift or present at any mans hands. Likewise they behaved themselves so discreetly that no man caried an evill eye, no, nor an evill thought towards them. Which liked not the Jesuites, because it hindered them from that they hoped for, so that they ceased not still by this Dutch Jesuite to put them in feare, that

they should be sent into Portugall to the King, counselling them to yeeld themselves Jesuites into their Cloister, which if they did, he sayd they would defend them from all troubles, saying further, that he counselled them therin as a friend, & one that knew for certaine that it was so determined by the Viceroyes Privy councell: which to effect he sayd they stayed but for shipping that should saile for Portugall, with divers other perswasions, to put them in some feare, and so to effect their purpose. The English men to the contrary, durst not say any thing to them, but answered, that as yet they would stay a while, and consider thereof, thereby putting the Jesuites in comfort, as one among them, being the principall of them (called John Newbery) complained unto me often times, saying that he knew not what to say or thinke therein, or which way he might be ridde of those troubles: but in the end they determined with themselves to depart from thence, and secretly by meanes of other friendes they imployed their money in precious stones; which the better to effect, one of them was a Jeweller, and for the same purpose came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durst not make knowen to any man, neither did they credite us so much, as to shew us their mindes therein, although they tolde us all whatsoever they knew. But on a Whitsunday they went abroad to sport themselves about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the river in a countrey called Bardes, having with them good store of meate and drinke. And because they should not be suspected, they left their house and shoppe, with some wares therein unsolde, in custody of a Dutch boy, by us provided for them, that looked unto it. This boy was in the house not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Patamar, which is one of the Indian postes, which in the Winter times carieth letters from one place to the other, whom they had hired to guide them: and because that betweene Bardes and the firme land there is but a little river, in a maner halfe drie, they passed over it on foot, and so travelled by land,

being never heard of againe: but it is thought they arrived in Aleppo, as some say, but they know not certainely. Their greatest hope was that John Newbery could speake the Arabian tongue, which is used in all those countreys, or at the least understood; for it is very common in all places there abouts, as French with us. Newes being come to Goa, there was a great stirre and murmuring among the people, and we much woondered at it: for many were of opinion, that we had given them counsell so to do: and presently their surety seised upon the goods remaining, which might amount unto above two hundred pardawes; and with that and the money he had received of the English men, he went unto the Viceroy, and delivered it unto him: which the Viceroy having received, forgave him the rest. This flight of the English men grieved the Jesuites most, because they had lost such a praye, which they made sure account of: whereupon the Dutch Jesuite came to us to aske us if we knew thereof, saying, that if he had suspected so much, he would have dealt otherwise, for that he sayd, he once had in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was forty thousand veneseanders (ech veneseander being two pardawes) which was when they were in prison. And that they had alwayes put him in comfort to accomplish his desire: upon the which promise he gave them their money againe, which otherwise they should not so lightly have come by, or peradventure never, as he openly sayd: and in the end he called them hereticks, and spies, with a thousand other railing speeches, which he uttered against them. The English man that was become a Jesuite, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiving that the Jesuites shewed him not so great favour, neither used him so well as they did at the first, repented himselfe; and seeing he had not as then made any solemne promise, and being counselled to leave the house, and tolde that he could not want a living in the towne, as also that the Jesuites could not keepe him there without he were willing to stay, so they could not accuse him of any thing,

The Arabian tongue generall in the East.

[II. i. 268.]

he tolde them flatly that he had no desire to stay within the Cloister. And although they used all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet he would not stay, but hired an house without the Cloister, and opened shoppe, where he had good store of worke: and in the end married a Mestizos daughter of the towne, so that he made his account to stay there while he lived. By this English man I was instructed of all the wayes, trades, and voyages of the countrey, betweene Aleppo and Ormus, and of all the ordinances and common customes which they usually holde during their voyage over the land, as also of the places and townes where they passed. And since those English mens departures from Goa, there never arrived any strangers, either English or others, by land, in the sayd countreys, but onely Italians which dayly traffique over land, and use continuall trade going and comming that way.

END OF VOLUME V.

GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO.

SAILING CHART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, A.D. 1564